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ART. I.—*A Treatise on Political Economy*: to which is prefixed, a Supplement to a Preceding Work on the Understanding, or Elements of Ideology; with an Analytical Table, and an Introduction on the Faculty of the Will. By the Count Destutt Tracy, member of the Senate and Institute of France, and of the American Philosophical Society. Translated from the unpublished French Original. Georgetown, published by Joseph Milligan, 1817.

THIS treatise is ushered into the presence of the public, by the following letter from Mr. Jefferson to the publisher.

Monticello, October 25, 1818.

SIR—I now return you, according to promise, the translation of M. Destutt Tracy's *Treatise on Political Economy*, which I have carefully revised and corrected. The numerous corrections of sense in the translation, have necessarily destroyed uniformity of style, so that all I may say on that subject is, that the sense of the author is every where now faithfully expressed. It would be difficult to do justice, in any translation, to the style of the original, in which no word is unnecessary, no word can be changed for the better, and severity of logic results in that brevity, to which we wish all science reduced. The merit of this work will, I hope, place it in the hands of every reader in our country. By diffusing sound principles of Political Economy, it will protect the public industry from the parasite institutions now consuming it, and lead us to that just and regular distribution of the public burthens from which we have sometimes strayed. It goes forth, therefore, with my hearty prayers, that while the *Review of Montesquieu*, by the same author, is made with us the elementary book of instruction in the principles of civil government, so the present work may be in the particular branch of Political Economy.

MR. MILLIGAN.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

A recommendation so strong, from a person of such eminence in literary as well as political station, gives no common interest to the book that has called forth this voluntary eulogium; and the public will of course feel much curiosity to know something of the author, and of the contents and character of the book, thus highly recommended to their notice.

In the year 1802, the author, Destutt Tracy, published 'Elements of Ideology,' of which, in 1804, there was printed another edition. In this work he considered all the faculties usually termed intellectual, as mere modes of sensation or perception, but without determining any thing on the source or nature of the faculty of perception itself.

In 1803, he published a second part of his *Elements of Ideology*; comprehending the *Analysis of Grammar*; and the *Signs of our Sensations and Ideas*.

In 1805, he published a third part on *Logic*, dedicated to his friend Dr. P. J. G. Cabanis; and in 1815, he published a fourth and a fifth part on the *Will*: which, like the rest of our intellectual faculties, he refers to sensation alone.

In this treatise on the will, he divides his subject into three parts. An introduction: wherein he attempts to show, that the will is nothing more than a sensation: that it gives rise to our ideas of personality and of property: that, from this faculty of willing arises all our wants, and all our means of supplying them—our notions of riches and poverty—of liberty and restraint—of rights and of duties.

After this introduction, he treats of the will and its effects; and first of our actions, or **ECONOMY**: this he subdivides into disquisitions—

1. On society. 2. On the production and formation of our riches.
3. On the measure of utility, or the value of commodities. 4. On the change of form, or manufacturing industry; including as a branch of manufacture, all the operations of agriculture. 5. On the change of place, or commercial industry. 6. On coin and money. 7. Reflections on what precedes. 8. On the distribution of riches among individuals. 9. On population. 10. Consequences of, and details on the two preceding chapters. 11. On the employment of wealth; or, on consumption. 12. On the revenues, expenses, and debts of government. 13. Conclusion. 14. Analytical view of the fourth volume.

Elements of Ideology; vol. 5, part the second, of a treatise on the will and its effects.

Of our sentiments or passions; that is, of morality.

1. Preliminary notions. 2. On love. 3. Final note. 4. Analytical view of the 5th volume.

The work now in review before us, consists of the fourth volume of the *Treatise on Ideology*, of which we have just given the table of contents. It is, in fact, little more than a development of the opinions advanced in the commentary on Montesquieu, by the same author, of which, Mr. Jefferson caused a translation to be made and published in Philadelphia, in 1811. The part of that work which treats of political economy, will be found from page 158 of the translation, to page 250. The commentary on Montesquieu was little noticed, and the dissemination of it was circumscribed;

but it well deserves to be perused with attention, for the many just and enlightened ideas it contains.

Sometime about the year 1802, Dr. Cabanis published his great work on the connexion between the physical constitution, and the intellectual faculties and moral dispositions of the human being; wherein he traced the moral character to the physical organization, as the source of its varieties and tendencies. It is a most curious and ingenious disquisition, wherein he attempts to establish, by a different train of physiological reasoning, the same general truths, that Hartley had before more profoundly treated in his *Disquisitions on Man*, first published in 1749: and which all the late writers on insanity in particular, adopt to account for mental derangement. It seems now settled, that there is no such thing as a disorder of the mind; and intellectual derangement must be traced in its origin to organic derangement, and the remedies applied, to alter the morbid action of the *bodily* organs. All this is perfectly consistent with the usual opinion of a soul distinct from the body; because no physiologist of note has attempted to show how perception, or sensation, or even animal life can arise from any assignable organic structure. Certain impressions will be made on the nervous system by external objects, and these impressions will be transmitted to the place in the human system, where they are felt or perceived: but what being it is that feels or perceives them, is a question upon which the common sense of mankind has uniformly been in accord with the doctrines of revelation. Destutt Tracy, made and published an analysis of this work of Cabanis; and beside these, we know nothing more of the literary labours of the author of the treatise now before us.

We greatly regret that Mr. Jefferson, whose style is so clear and perspicuous, when he offers to the public his own ideas, had not leisure to do more than correct the translation of Destutt Tracy's work on political economy, with a view to the faithful rendering of the author's meaning; for a more harsh and inelegant translation of any book we have seldom met with: so much does it deserve this character, that if it were not for the recommendation prefixed by Mr. Jefferson, the reader would turn away with disgust from the perusal of English so inelegant; and, indeed, from the strange affectation of Destutt Tracy himself, in making the subject of political economy a part of the metaphysics of ideas. To us it appears, that a treatise on confectionary or on the art of dancing, is just as much connected with the nature of the will, and the physical formation of our wants and our means, as political economy. On this subject, however, the author has a right to be heard for himself, and we present to our readers, the connexion of the two subjects in the language of the translator, as presented in his prefatory analytical table.

Advertisement.—Before commencing the second section of the elements of Ideology, which treats of the will and its effects, I am

going to give a supplement to the first, which embraces the history of our means of knowledge. Then will come the introduction to the treatise on the will, which presents the general considerations common to the three parts of which this treatise is composed. The introduction will be followed by the first of these three parts, that which treats specially of our actions.

‘*Supplement to the first section of the Elements of Ideology.*—I have previously reduced the whole science of logic to two facts.

‘The first is that our perceptions being every thing for us, we are perfectly, completely, and necessarily sure of whatever we actually feel.

‘The second is, that consequently none of our judgments, separately taken, can be erroneous: inasmuch as we see one idea in another, it is actually there; but their falsity, when it takes place, is purely relative to anterior judgments, which we permit to subsist; and it consists in this, that we believe the idea in which we perceive a new element to be the same as that we have always had under the same sign, when it is really different, since the new element which we actually see there, is incompatible with some of those which we have previously seen; so that to avoid contradiction, we must either take away the former, or not admit the latter. From these two facts or principles, I deduce here fourteen aphorisms or maxims, which constitute, in my opinion, the whole art of logic, such as it proceeds from the true science of logic.

‘According to the last of these aphorisms, which enjoins us to abstain from judging while we have not sufficient data, I speak of the theory of probability.

‘The science of probability is not the same thing as the calculation of probability. It consists in the research of data and in their combination. The calculation consists only in the latter part: it may be very just, and yet lead to results very false. Of this the mathematicians have not been sufficiently aware. They have taken it for the whole science.

‘The science of probability is not then a particular science; as a research of data it makes a part of each of the sciences on which these data depend; as a calculation of data it is an employment of the science of quantity.

‘The science of probability is properly the conjectural part of each of the branches of our knowledge, in some of which, calculation may be employed.

‘But it is necessary to see well what are those of which the ideas are, from their nature, susceptible of shades sufficiently precise and determinate to be referred to the exact divisions of the names of numbers and of cyphers, and in order that in the sequel we may apply to them the rigorous language of the science of quantities. To this again the mathematicians have not paid sufficient attention. They have believed that every thing consisted in calculation, and this has betrayed them into frightful errors.

‘ In the state in which the science of probability is as yet, if it be one, I have thought I should confine myself to this small number of reflections, intended to determine well its nature, its means, and its object.

‘ *Second section of the Elements of Ideology, or a treatise on the will and its effects.*—Introduction.—Section 1.—The faculty of will is a mode and a consequence of the faculty of perception.

‘ We have just finished the examination of our means of knowledge. We must employ them in the study of our faculty of will to complete the history of our intellectual faculties.

‘ The faculty of willing produces in us the ideas of *wants* and *means*, of *riches* and *deprivation*, of *rights* and *duties*, of *justice* and *injustice*, which flow from the idea of *property*, which is itself derived from the idea of *personality*. It is necessary, therefore, first to examine this latter, and to explain beforehand with accuracy what the faculty of willing is.

‘ The faculty of willing is that of finding some one thing preferable to another.

‘ It is a mode and a consequence of the faculty of feeling.

‘ Section 2.—From the faculty of will arise the ideas of *personality* and *property*.

‘ The *self* of every one of us is for him his own sensibility.

‘ Thus sensibility alone gives to a certain point, the idea of *personality*.

‘ But the mode of sensibility, called the will or willing faculty, can alone render this idea of personality complete; it is then only that it can produce the idea of property as we have it. The idea of property arises then solely from the faculty of will; and moreover it arises necessarily from it, for we cannot have an idea of *self* without having that of the property in all the faculties of *self*, and in their effects. If it was not thus, if there was not amongst us a natural and necessary property, there never would have been a conventional or artificial property.

‘ This truth is the foundation of all economy, and of all morality; which are in their principles but one and the same science.

‘ Section 3.—From the faculty of will arise all our wants and all our means.

‘ The same intellectual acts emanating from our faculty of will, which cause us to acquire a distinct and complete idea of *self*, and of exclusive property in all its modes, are also those which render us susceptible of wants, and are the source of all our means of providing for those wants.

‘ For 1st. Every desire is a want, and every want is never but the *need* of satisfying a desire. Desire is always in itself a pain.

‘ 2d. When our sensitive system re-acts on our muscular system, these desires have the property of directing our actions, and thus of producing all our means.

‘ Labour, the employment of our force, constitutes our only treasure and our only power.

‘ Thus it is the faculty of will which renders us proprietors of *wants* and *means*, of *passion* and *action*, of *pain* and *power*.

‘ Thence arises the ideas of *riches* and deprivation.

‘ Section 4.—From the faculty of will arises also the ideas of riches and deprivation.

‘ Whatsoever contributes, mediately or immediately, to the satisfaction of our wants, is for us a *good*; that is to say, a thing, the possession of which is a good.

‘ To be rich is to possess these *goods*; to be poor is to be without them.

‘ They arise all from the employment of our faculties, of which they are the effect and representation.

‘ These goods have all two values amongst us; the one is that of the sacrifices they cost to him who produces them, the other, that of the advantages which they procure for him who has acquired them.

‘ The labour from which they emanate has then these two values.

‘ Yes labour has these two values. The one is the sum of the objects necessary to the satisfaction of the wants that arise inevitably in an animated being, during the operation of his labour. The other is the mass of utility resulting from this labour.

‘ The latter value is eventual and variable.

‘ The first is natural and necessary. It has not, however, an absolute fixity; and it is this which renders very delicate all economical and moral calculations.

‘ We can scarcely employ in these matters but the considerations drawn from the theory of limits.

‘ Section 5.—From the faculty of will arise also the ideas of *liberty* and *constraint*.

‘ Liberty is the power of executing our will. It is our first good. It includes them all. A constraint includes all our evils, since it is a deprivation of the power to satisfy our wants and accomplish our *desires*.

‘ All constraint is sufferance; all liberty is enjoyment. The total value of the liberty of an animated being is equal to that of all his faculties united.

‘ It is absolutely infinite for him, and without a possible equivalent, since its entire loss imports the impossibility of the possession of any good.

‘ Our sole duty is to augment our liberty and its value.

‘ The object of society is solely the fulfilment of this duty.

‘ Section 6.—Finally, from the faculty of will arise our ideas of rights and duties.

‘ Rights arise from wants, and duties from means.

‘ Weakness in all its kinds, is the source of all rights, and power the source of all duties; or in other words, of the general duty to employ it well, which comprehends all the others.

‘ These ideas of rights and duties are not so essentially correlative as is commonly said. That of rights is anterior and absolute.

‘ An animated being, by the laws of his nature, has always the right to satisfy his wants, and he has no duties but according to circumstances.

‘ A sentient and willing being, but incapable of action, would have all rights and no duties.

‘ This being supposed capable of action, and insulated from every other sensible being, has still the same plenitude of rights, with the sole duty of properly directing his actions, and well employing his means for the most complete satisfaction of his wants.

‘ Place this same being in contact with other beings, who develop to him their sensibility, too imperfectly to enable him to form conventions with them; he has still the same rights, and his duties or rather his sole duty is only changed, so far as he must act on the will of these beings, and is under a necessity to sympathise more or less with them. Such are our relations with the brutes.

‘ Suppose this same sensible being, in relation with beings with whom he can completely communicate and form conventions, he has still the same rights unlimited in themselves, and the same sole duty.

‘ These rights are not bounded, this duty is not modified by the conventions established; but because these conventions are so many means of exercising these rights, of fulfilling this duty better and more fully than before.

‘ The possibility of explaining ourselves and not agriculture, grammar and not Ceres, is our first legislator.

‘ It is at the establishment of conventions that the *just* and *unjust*, properly speaking, commence.

‘ Section 7.—Conclusion.—The general considerations just read, begin to diffuse some light over the subject with which we are occupied, but they are not sufficient. We must see more in detail, what are the numerous results of our actions; what are the different sentiments which arise from our first desires; and what is the best possible manner of directing these actions and sentiments. Here will be found the division which I have announced. I shall begin by speaking of our actions.’

To us, this connexion appears forced, and the language of the translator harsh. We would also remark, that the translator uses the French original word *sensibility*, to denote, what our English metaphysical writers usually express by the word *sensation*; a motion occasioned in the nervous fibres of the sensorium, perceived. But we are not to take for granted, that these are fair specimens of the character of the book. However forced and strange the connexion between the nature of the human will, and the doctrines of political economy, when we arrive at the part where the author commences the true subject of the work before us, the language even of the translation becomes more clear, and we

feel at once that this is a book worth perusal, and deserving of commendation: but before we arrive at political economy, we are required to travel over ninety pages of metaphysics; we then come to the first chapter *On society*. In this chapter he contends, that society arises from, and consists in a series of mutual conventions or exchanges, tacit or expressed, into which human beings in the vicinity of each other, are by necessity of nature compelled, either for the purposes of security, existence, or comfortable subsistence. Hence society is the natural state of the human species; whose wants arising from their physical constitution, do not permit them to live insulated, and unconnected with their fellow creatures. Hence, exchange, or commerce, constitutes the whole foundation of human communities, as labour constitutes the foundation of wealth.

Chapter 2. *Of production or the formation of riches*. The author sets out with the axiom of Lucretius—*Ex nihilo nihil fit: in nihilum nil posse reverti*. Production does not create: it produces only change of *form*, or change of *place*. The one constituting the element of manufacture, the other of commerce. Agriculture itself produces nothing but change of form: it is nothing more than a branch of manufacture. It is not as the economists taught, the only productive occupation, as producing the means of existence. It only changes the form of the seed sown by the manufacturing processes of the farmer. All labour is *productive* whose result is utility.

Chapter 3. *Of the measure of utility or value*. Every produce of labour is useful that adds to the means of our existence, our comforts, or even our enjoyments. All labour is useful whose result is something, which, though not useful in itself to us, is so to others, and which we can exchange for what is useful to us. The produce of all labour is useful in, proportion as it enables society to comprise within its bosom a greater number of human beings, by finding for them the means of subsistence—or as its utility is less of a transient, and more of a durable nature. Labour is worse paid, as it is more necessary to human existence; for 1st, it is generally more easy, requiring less skill in the performance; and 2d, more persons engage in it. Hence agricultural labour is low, and agricultural profits small in all countries. Value is of two kinds, real value founded on utility—and conventional or market value, modified by plenty, or scarcity, or fancy, or fashion.

Chapter 4. *Of change of form, or manufacture including agriculture*. This is carried on by, 1st, capitalists or undertakers, who possess the surplus of former production over consumption; and 2d, hirelings. Here also, the most necessary and really useful manufactures will be worst recompensed, because the competitors will be more numerous, and skill more common. All manufactures can be carried on to a greater extent by means of capital than agriculture; wherein the employment of small capital, comparatively demands the whole attention of the capitalist. Landholders, who

rent land, or let it out to hire, are exactly of the same description with money lenders, who hire out money: neither class are contributors directly to national wealth. They live on the labours of the useful producers, themselves being idle consumers of the common stock of useful produce. Hence the tenants and hirelings among agriculturalists, especially on poor land, are usually among the poorest of the community. Rents, swallow up their labour.

Chapter 6. *Of money.* Nothing is properly money, or a permanently useful medium of exchange, but what has in itself intrinsic value, independent of the impression upon the coin made out of it. Hence the general consent that silver shall be the medium of commerce. It is fraud in a government to depreciate the current coin by lessening the intrinsic value either in quantity or in quality. It is a continued series of frauds, to issue in lieu of coin, which ought to have intrinsic value as the national medium of commerce, paper, which has none. (In page 86, of this part of the work, the author speaks of the system of *Law*, the famous French Mississippi schemer; the translator says, 'politicians gravely give us an account of the system of Law, and discuss it at full length.') The following reflections on paper money are very just.

'Paper, like every thing else, has no necessary value, but that which it has cost to fabricate it; and no market value, but its price in the shop as paper. When I hold a note, or an obligation of any kind, of a solvent person, to pay me at sight an hundred ounces of silver, this paper has only the real value of a piece of paper. It has not that of the hundred ounces of silver which it promises me. It is for me only the sign that I shall receive these hundred ounces of silver when I wish; in truth, when this sign is of an indubitable certainty, I am not anxious about realizing it. I may even, without taking this trouble, pass it by agreement to another person, who will be equally tranquil with myself, and who may even prefer the sign to the thing signified; because it is lighter and more portable. We have not yet either the one or the other any real value, (I count for nothing that of the piece of paper) but we are as sure of having it when we wish, as with the money we are sure of having a dinner when we shall be hungry. It is this that induces us both to say, that this paper is the same thing as the silver.—But this is not exact; for the paper only promises, and the silver alone is the value itself.

'Proceeding on this equivocal, the government comes and says, you all agree that the paper of a rich man is equal to silver. Mine, for much stronger reasons, should have the same property, for I am richer than any individual; and moreover, you agree that it is my impression alone which gives to silver the quality of being the sign of all values; my signature communicates to this paper the same virtue. Thus it is in all respects a real money. By a surplus of precaution, they do not want inventions to prove that the paper about to be emitted really represents immense values. It is hypo-

thecated, sometimes on a considerable quantity of national domains, sometimes on the profits of a commercial company, which are to have prodigious success; sometimes on a sinking fund, which cannot fail to produce marvellous effects; sometimes on all these together. Urged by arguments so solid, all who hope that this operation will enable government to grant them gifts, and all its actual creditors, who fear that without this expedient they will not be paid at all,—who hope to have this paper among the first, and to pass it away very soon, before it is discredited; and who, moreover, calculating that if they lose something by it, they may amply indemnify themselves by subsequent affairs,—do not fail to say they are fully convinced that the paper is excellent; that it is an admirable invention, which will secure the safety of the state; that they are all ready to take it; that they like it as well as silver; that their only embarrassment would be, if they should meet with persons stubborn and distrustful, as there will always be, who would not be willing to receive it; that to prevent this inconvenience, it will be necessary to compel every body to do as they do, and that then all difficulties will have vanished. The public itself—prejudiced by so many sophisms, which have such numerous supporters,—at first relishes the measure, then desires it, and persuades itself that one must be absurd or evil-intentioned not to approve it. Thus they make a real *paper money*; that is to say, a paper which every one has a right to give, and is obliged to take as good money; and it is not perceived that it is precisely the force they employ to render this paper better, which radically vitiates it.’

The whole of this chapter is full of important good sense. It well explains the nature of banking, and exchange, agencies, lenders, and discount. It is a brief outline indeed, without needless words, but well worth reading.

Chapter 8. *Of the distribution of wealth.* Society is not divided into proprietors and non-proprietors. There are no non-proprietors. Every man capable of labour of any kind, is a proprietor of a valuable commodity, and entitled equally to the protection of the laws, with the richest member of the community. Many persons very rich, even in common acceptance, are not land-proprietors. Society consists of capitalists and undertakers, who hire, and the hirelings who are hired. There is a perpetual conflict between these two, the former requiring wages to be low, the latter to be high. When agriculture is filled, other manufactures begin, and new branches of commerce arise. In process of time, all means of earning become overstocked, and the community declines: agriculture is the most apt to be overstocked, and the profits and the wages are less than in other branches of manufacture.

Chapter 9. *Of the multiplication of individuals or population.* The author herein embraces generally the ideas of *Malthus*, against which, in truth, we see no resource but emigration and colonization. Nothing seems better established, that except in new coun-

tries, there is every where, in every state of society, a tendency to over population, that requires to be thinned, by want and misery, by disease, by war, by emigration and colonization, or by abstinence from matrimony. We are seriously of opinion, that this view of society, gives a much higher character to the art of cookery, by which food can be prepared so as to afford the utmost of its nourishment, than a slight view of the subject would ascribe to it.

Chapter 10. *Consequences and developments of the two preceding chapters.* Population depends greatly on the quantity and prudent use of surplus capital; for the hired are limited by the capitals that employ them. Hence luxurious consumption is a national misfortune; meaning by luxury, that employment of wealth which consists of needless and expensive sensual indulgencies, which leave no trace of utility behind; quæ ipso user consumuntur. These are proper objects of taxation. It is not advantageous to the capitalist that labour should be very low, so as not to supply fully the necessaries of life: hence all slave-labour is extravagant. The poor are proprietors as well as the rich, and their pittance—their *all*, is as of much consequence to them, and needs as much, and claims as much the protection of society, as the *all* of the richest member of the community.

Chapter 11. *Of the employment of wealth: i. e. of Consumption.* Every human creature is a consumer. It is the common interest of all consumers, that articles of consumption should be cheaply produced. Hence labour-saving machines are useful to the poorest. Society ought to provide a remedy for the temporary evils arising from their introduction.

Consumers are either, producers, as those who labour; those who employ capital in productive labour; mechanists; men of science—or those who live idly without producing upon their incomes levied on the industry of those who labour: fruges consumere nati. Those are, therefore, in the wrong, who consider consumption as the source of wealth. No consumption is so, but that which more than replaces its own expenditure. Luxury is well treated of in this chapter.

Chapter 12. *Of the revenues, expenses, and debts of government.* Government is an unproductive consumer, who lives upon revenues drawn from those who labour. All taxes are therefore evils; submitted to, that we may avoid greater. (Perhaps where government is the undertaker of roads and canals, it may rank so far among the productive class.) The author thinks, for reasons of which we do not see the force, that government may be advantageously a land-proprietor.

All taxes are laid, 1, on rent of land; 2, on houses; 3, on state salaries and annuities; 4, on persons; 5, on patent rights, corporations, and monopolies; 6, stamps; 7, merchandize, imported or exported; 8, excises. This is not exactly count Tracy's distribution, but we have subdivided, for evident reasons of convenience, some

of his heads of taxation. All these are discussed in this chapter, as to their relative expediency. The subject of loans, or national debt, is agitated in pages 236, et sequentibus. We agree with him, that the *right* of burthening the industry of our children, which does not belong to us, is extremely equivocal—that it is not advantageous to a nation that its government should be enabled to borrow—and we add, that a purchaser of national stock, who buys a risk, at a risk-price, has no right to *demand* that it should be converted into a certainty, at the expense of all the rest of the community. This subject requires more discussion than it has received. So does the subject of the expedience of taxing the funds: for the mere right will admit of little dispute. The following passage of count Tracy, on the right of borrowing and funding, will exhibit his ideas on the point.

‘ This circumstance, in my opinion, gives room for a great question; which I am astonished to have seen no where discussed. A government of any kind, whether monarchical or polyarchical, in a word of men now existing, has it a right thus to burden men not yet in existence, and to compel them to pay in future times, their present expenses? This is not even the case of a testament; against which it has been said, with reason, that no man has the right of being obeyed after his death. For, in fine, the society which, for the general good, take so many different powers from its individual members, may well grant them this, and guarantee it if it is useful to them; and the heirs of the testators are always at liberty to accept or to refuse their inheritances, which at bottom belong to them only in virtue of the laws which give them, and under the conditions prescribed by the laws. But when there is a question of public interest, the case is quite different. One generation does not receive from another, as an inheritance, the right of living in society, and of living therein under such laws as it pleases. The first has no right to say to the second, if you wish to succeed me, it is thus you must live and thus you must conduct yourself. For from such a right it would follow, that a law once made could never be changed. Thus the actual legislative power, (whatever it be,) which is always considered as the organ of the actual general will, can neither oblige nor restrain the future legislative power, which will be the organ of the general will of a time yet to come. It is on this very reasonable principle, that it is acknowledged in England, that one parliament cannot vote a tax but until the commencement of another, or even until a new session of the same parliament. I know well that to apply this principle generally to the debts of a country where it is not admitted, and where prior engagements have been entered into bona fide, would be to violate public faith; and I have heretofore sufficiently manifested my profound belief, that such an act can never be either *just* or *useful*, two terms for me absolutely equivalent to *reason* and *virtue*. But it is not the less true, to return to

the example of England, that it is contradictory, and consequently absurd that a parliament should think it could not vote taxes but for one year, and should think it could vote a loan on a perpetual annuity or on long reimbursements: for this is to vote a necessity for taxes sufficient to pay these annuities or these reimbursements, without a right to refuse them. I find the principle formerly admitted in Spain, much more sensible and honourable, that the engagements of one king are not binding on his successor. At least those who contract with him know the risks they run, and have no room for complaint of what may happen to them. We shall soon see that this principle, put in practice, is as beneficial as it is reasonable.

‘For the present, I only maintain, that, since definitively the principal and interest of a loan can never be paid but by taxes, the funds which government procures by this mean end always in being involuntarily taken from individuals; and, what is worse, from individuals not obliged, because they have never engaged either by themselves or by their legitimate or *legal* representatives. I call *legal*, those whom the existing law authorizes; and whose acts are valid, even if the law is not just.

‘The second advantage which is found in loans, is that the sums they furnish are not taken from productive consumption: since it is not undertakers of industry who place their funds in the hands of the state; but idle capitalists only living on their revenue, who choose this kind of annuity rather than another. I answer, that this second advantage is not less illusory than the first. For although it be true that those who lend to government are not, in general, the men who have joined their personal industry to their capital, to render them more useful in productive employments; yet it happens that there are many of these lenders whom the facility of procuring a sufficient existence, without risk or fatigue, has alone disgusted from labour and thrown them into idleness. Besides, even admitting that all were equally idle if the state had not borrowed, it is certain that if they had not lent it their money, they would have lent it to industrious men. From that time these industrious men would have had greater capitals to work on, and, by the effect of the concurrence of lenders, they would have procured them at a lower interest. Now these are two great goods of which the public loans deprive them. In fine, it cannot be denied that without a bankruptcy, when a sum is borrowed it must be repaid; and, to repay it, it must be levied on the citizens. Thus, sooner, or later, it affects industry as much, and in the same manner as if it had been levied at first. Moreover, there must be added to this, all the interest paid by the state, till the moment of reimbursement; and it is easy to see that in a few years, these interests have doubled the capital, and consequently the evil.

‘But at this day, in Europe, we are so habituated to the existence of a public debt, that when we have found the means of bor-

rowing money on perpetual annuities, and of securing payment of the interest, we think ourselves liberated, and no longer owing any thing; and we do not, or will not see, that this interest, absorbing a part of the public revenue, (which was already insufficient) since we have been obliged to borrow, is the cause that this same revenue still less suffices for subsequent expenses; that soon we must borrow again to provide for this new deficit, and load ourselves with new interest; and that, thus in but a short time it is found that a considerable portion of all the riches annually produced is employed, not for the service of the state, but to support a crowd of useless annuitants. And to fill the measure of our evils, who are these lenders? Men not only idle, as are all annuitants; but also completely indifferent to the success or failure of the industrious class to which they have lent nothing: having absolutely no interest but the permanence of the borrowing government, whatsoever it be, or whatsoever it does; and at the same time having no desire but to see it embarrassed, to the end that it may be forced to keep fair with them and pay them better. Consequently natural enemies to the true interests of society, or at least being absolutely strangers to them. I do not pretend to say that all the annuitants of the state are bad citizens; but I say that their situation is calculated to render them such. I add further, that life annuities tend moreover to break family ties; and that the great abundance of public effects cannot fail of producing a crowd of licentious gamblers in the funds. The truth of what I advance is manifested in a very odious and fatal manner in all great cities without commerce; and especially in all the capitals in which this class of men is very numerous and very powerful; and has many means of giving weight to their passions, and of perverting the public opinion.

‘It is then as erroneous to believe that the loans of government are not hurtful to national industry, as it is to suppose that the funds which they produce, are not taken from any individual involuntarily. In truth these are not the real reasons which cause so much importance to be attached to the possibility of borrowing. The great advantage of loans, in the eyes of their partisans, is, that they furnish in a moment, enormous sums, which could only have been very slowly procured by means of taxes, even the most overwhelming. Now I do not hesitate to declare, that I regard this pretended advantage as the greatest of all evils. It is nothing else than a mean of urging men to excessive efforts, which exhaust them and destroy the sources of their life. Montesquieu perceived it well.’

We have made this long extract, because the subject is of urgent importance to ourselves; and the questions, both of right and expedience, ought to be fully discussed *amongst us, and for our own sakes.*

Chapter 13. *Conclusion.* We have thus given an outline of the contents of a book, interesting to us, from the high standing and

great respectability of the gentleman who edits it: for the importance of the subjects treated; and the ability with which they are discussed. It is indeed but a sketch, but it is not inferior in utility to the most celebrated of this class of writings. T. C.

ART. II.—*Narrative of a Tour through Scotland in the Year 1817*, chiefly with a view to the State of its Harbours and Public Works. By Charles Dupin, Corresponding Member of the French Institute.

[From Constable's Edinburgh Magazine.]

M. Dupin, a learned native of France, who occupies an important place in the marine engineer department of that country, was lately engaged in a tour through Great Britain, with the view of examining the state of national industry, particularly in regard to every thing connected with navigation and public works. He has since published a work entitled 'Memoir upon the Marine, and the Bridges and Public Works of England and France.' In this he includes a Narrative of his Tour through Scotland, which we with pleasure translate for the use of our readers, to whom we think it will, be generally interesting.

'After leaving Newcastle for Edinburgh, I passed by Berwick, where a long pier is constructing to diminish the effects of a bar at the mouth of the Tweed. A bridge of iron chains has been thrown over the river, upon a plan as I believe of Mr. Telford.

'Edinburgh, and Leith its harbour, present a crowd of important objects in the sciences, letters, and arts. Edinburgh is the Athens of the North, and the Scottish people combine the urbanity of the Greeks with the hospitality of the Arabs.

'It is a literary phenomenon, extremely remarkable, and worthy of the attention of the philosopher, to see, at the remotest extremity of a great empire, and almost under the frozen zone, a city which, ceasing to be a capital, and left wholly to itself, rises by the genius of its inhabitants, seizes the sceptre of history and political economy, produces talents of the first order in mineralogy, chemistry, the medical and surgical sciences, and, not content with so many claims to receive from other nations the palm of celebrity, erects in its bosom a literary tribunal, which makes despotism tremble, and the decrees of which suffice to exalt or to sink many a reputation in Europe.

'At Leith they are forming basins, docks for the construction of vessels, entrepots, &c. These labours, at the point where they now stop, are more remarkable for their perfect execution, than their magnitude. In case of realizing the projects formed a few years ago, that is, at the moment when British commerce was in its highest prosperity, they would add to the floating basins already finished, a new basin still larger, and the entry of which, opening into a deep and unobstructed part of the bay of Forth, would admit vessels of considerable burden, even at ebb tide. I am persuaded that scarcely will the Scots have ceased to dread

the stagnation of their commercial prosperity, when they will resume their projects of aggrandizement, and will pursue them through every obstacle with that constancy which characterizes them.

‘ Mr. Jardine, a learned civil engineer, who communicated information to me in the most liberal manner, took me into the yard of a ship-builder at Leith, to show me the very ingenious application of iron railways in the launching of vessels. I examined a fine steam boat, which is destined to tow the vessels from Leith to the mouth of the great canal which joins the Clyde near Glasgow. It appears that this operation, not hitherto attempted, has completely succeeded.

‘ I crossed the bay of Forth, and visited the little port of Kirkcaldy. Not far from thence is the fine domain of Raith, the possessor of which, Mr. Ferguson, has a magnificent cabinet of mineralogy. Quitting Raith, I reached the banks of the Tay, and crossed to Dundee, where they are digging a new harbour, partly excavated in the rock. Mr. Logan, the engineer who conducted these works, and who has been employed also in constructing the pharos of the Bell Rock, communicated to me his plans, and all his practical knowledge, with a liberality which I can never sufficiently acknowledge.

‘ From Dundee I went to Arbroath, in front of the new and celebrated pharos of the Bell Rock. Contrary winds, and the violence of the sea, did not allow us to go immediately to the rock where it is built, twelve miles from shore. I lodged two nights in a farm-house on the coast, observing every night the intensity of the fires, and the perfect distinction of their colours, which are alternately white and red,

‘ I was conveyed to the Bell Rock in the vessel of the Commissioners for the Northern Lights. I studied the construction of this light-house, which is the design of Mr. Rennie, executed under the care and immediate direction of Mr. Stevenson. I particularly remarked the mechanism of the lamps, and the disposition of the glasses, which produced the coloured flames.

‘ The keepers of the light-house have a library, not large, but composed of useful books upon literature, morality, and natural science; they are subscribers to one of the monthly journals which treat of these subjects. Thus simple workmen, in the midst of the sea, charm the leisure of their solitude by attempting to follow the progress of reason and of the human mind. It is by much local observation of this nature that I have been able to satisfy myself of the general diffusion of knowledge among the Scottish people.

‘ The keepers of the light-house keep a register, where they beg the persons who visit this edifice to inscribe their names, and to add some lines expressive of their ideas on the subject of this fine edifice. I found nothing remarkable in this album, except six improvisatory lines of the celebrated Walter Scott, when he visit-

ed the light-house. Walter Scott, is well known as the modern bard of Caledonia, and the finest scenes of this picturesque country owe to his genius a celebrity, which their solemn or savage grandeur would of itself never have given them. The following are the verses, which I was permitted to copy:

“ Far in the bosom of the deep
O'er the wild shelves my watch I keep,
A ruddy gem of changeful light
Bound on the dusky brow of night;
The seaman bids my lustre hail,
And scorns to strike his timorous sail.”

‘ Continuing my route towards the north, I visited the harbours of Montrose, of Bervie, of Stonehaven, and of Aberdeen. Immense operations have begun to render Aberdeen a great commercial port; superb piers have been constructed at its entrance. The river Dee, forced by those artificial dikes to accelerate its course, has almost destroyed the bar, which, not more than twenty years ago, allowed only vessels of small burden to enter the harbour. The floating basins, projected in the interior of the port, are abandoned, because the company which undertook was not rich enough to finish them.

‘ When I passed through Aberdeen, I met Dr. Olinthus Gregory returning from the Shetland isles, where he had gone to meet M. Biot and captain Colby, to continue the triangulation of Great Britain, and to prolong thus far north the measure of the meridian, extended by the French southward to the Balearic isles. Dr. Gregory showed me, at the university, an observatory very rich in instruments, but, if I mistake not, very poor in observations. Another thing interested me much more, because it shows a talent and natural vocation for the sciences; the same gentleman took me to a shoemaker, who, in the intervals left to him by his humble employment, makes barometers, thermometers, and large reflecting telescopes, which appeared very perfect; he can push them up at will out of his roof upon a platform of a little wooden turret, which is reached by a window. There he shows to the curious the sun and the moon, as well as in an observatory of the first order. But it may be supposed, that upon so unsteady a base as that on which the instruments are thus perched, it must be impossible to make observations which require a perfectly immoveable ground.

‘ Departing from Aberdeen, I plunged into the mountains of higher Scotland as far as the mouth of the gulf of Murray, where the army of Agricola, stopped, deterred by the rugged and mountainous aspect of the opposite coast.

‘ From Inverness, at the bottom of the gulf of Murray, to fort Augustus, and from thence to fort William, I coasted the Caledonian canal; an immense work, which will allow frigates and vessels of five or six hundred tons to pass from the Atlantic to the German ocean, without making the dangerous circuit of the north of Scotland, and of the Orkney isles. Wood was wanted for the construction of the sluice-gates; they have been made of

wrought iron. I have examined gates which weighed twenty tons; they were opened and shut by two men only.

‘ Departing from fort William where the Caledonian canal ends, and traversing anew chains of mountains almost completely arid and barren, I gained the banks of the lake Lomond, then the port of Dumbarton, and finally Glasgow.

‘ Glasgow is one of those cities which show all that activity, perseverance and industry can produce. In the space of a century only, its population, its wealth, its commerce, and its manufactures, have increased tenfold.

‘ It is easier to visit the establishments and manufactories of Glasgow, than those of any other city of the British empire. The liberal spirit of the inhabitants is in this respect carried as far as possible among a manufacturing people, who must naturally dread and seek to prevent, not only the loss of their preponderance, but every foreign rivalry.

‘ The rich inhabitants of Glasgow have founded the Andersonian institution, where they teach, in the evenings of winter, the elements of geometry, of mechanics, of physics, and of chemistry applied to the arts. These courses are specially designed for young artizans, who have only to pay about 5s. in the season. This trifling fee is exacted in order that the students may include only persons actuated by the love of instruction, and willing to make some small sacrifice for it.

‘ The Andersonian institution has produced astonishing effects. It is an admirable thing now to see in many Glasgow manufactories, simple workmen who understand and explain, when necessary, the principles of their operations, and the theoretical means of arriving at the most perfect possible practical results.

‘ Dr. Ure, the principal professor of the Andersonian institution, well known by his kindness to foreigners, and particularly to the French, conducted me himself through all the important manufactories, the principal of which are now directed by his pupils.

‘ If the simplicity of the details, which exhibit the spirit of a people, and the intelligence of the lower classes of society, do not alarm delicate readers, I shall give them an example of the information of plain Glasgow artizans, in two brothers, who are bakers, and who, in the interval between one batch and another employ themselves in making philosophical instruments and machines. They have fashioned and put together all the parts of a small steam-engine, the modest boiler of which stands beside the pastry oven. The machine has the power of about two men, the movements are ingenious, it puts in motion machinery, by the aid of which our two artizans turn metals, and form lenses for optical instruments. They have constructed a small apparatus for lighting their shops and apartments with gas. These young persons know well the physical and mathematical principles of the instruments and machines which they construct. One day, if I may hazard a prediction, they will quite their trade to cultivate with success the natu-

ral sciences. But their fortune depends upon an uncle, who greatly prefers baking and pastry to gasometry and astronomy, and who jealous of the hereditary title of his family, wishes to transmit to his future nephews the kneading-trough of his ancestors. Alas! how many among us resemble, without knowing it, the uncle of the two pastry cooks.

‘There is preparing at Glasgow an immense apparatus to light with gas all the streets of that great city. When I was at Glasgow, the tubes for conducting it were already cast, and they were preparing a place for the gasometer and furnaces.

‘In supplying the inhabitants with water, a system has been followed which I have not seen practised in any other city. The water of the Clyde, brought by a subterraneous canal to the foot of a vapour pump, is first raised to eighty feet above the level of the river, and received into a great reservoir; thence the water passes into subterraneous conduits, which have a parallel direction. These conduits have for their bed two faces of equal declivity, and paved like a gutter; they are covered with large stones forming an arch, and leaving between them interstices not filled up. Smaller stones are placed irregularly over the first, and finally sand covers the whole parallel to the conduits thus formed; and on a level with the middle of their intervals, are ditches in the sand. The water descending from the reservoir into the conduits, tends to rise again across the great and small stones and the sand, to place itself on a level with the water which remains in the reservoir; thus it comes into the long parallel ditches, after having been perfectly purified. It appears to be a filter which differs from our ordinary household filters, only by being prepared for a hundred thousand persons. The purified water is then conducted by common tubes into the different houses of the city, which it supplies by pipes, even to the highest floors.

‘A work which contributes much to the prosperity of Glasgow, is the canal which joins the two seas, extending from the Clyde, a little above that city, to the bay of Forth, a little above Sterling.

‘I was invited to visit this canal along with the council of the company of proprietors. I had the pleasure of making this instructive excursion along with the celebrated Mr. Watt, an old inhabitant and civil engineer of Glasgow. By a favour too little merited, the first class of the Institute of France named me corresponding member in the room of Mr. Watt, when he was named foreign associate. To this honour, and to the kind recommendation of M. Berthollet, I owe the acquaintance and friendship of Mr. Watt. With mingled respect and admiration, I saw this fine old man of eighty-three, retaining the vigour of his mind as well as body, who instructed me in the multitude of particulars relative to the progress of English industry, which has been accelerated by him more than by any other inventor. To Mr. Watt, England owes in a great measure the immense increase of her riches during the last half century.

‘ He invited me to go down from Glasgow to Greenock upon the Clyde on board the steam-boats, and to communicate my observations on them, which he said would be particularly interesting, because his son was then making, on a great scale, very careful observations upon the *Caledonian* steam-boat.

‘ Not long ago, the Clyde was navigable to Glasgow only for very small vessels. At present ships of 150 tons ascend it with ease. Immense dikes have given to agriculture vast spaces of land, formerly inundated every day by the tides of the river; the bed, rendered more narrow, has become deeper; and cleansing machines, moved by the fire-pump, have finished this great work in the points where the natural course of the waters does not tend to produce this effect.

‘ I would wish that the example of the Clyde and of Glasgow should lead to the same efforts and the same results for the Seine and for Paris.

‘ Every day sixteen steam-boats go up and down the Clyde from Glasgow to Dumbarton, to Port-Glasgow and to Greenock. Some extend their voyage much farther; they sail along the coast, and in the numerous circumjacent gulfs. They go already 120 miles from the point of departure; this great distance is performed in one day.

‘ Port-Glasgow is a vast quadrangular basin, containing the large vessels employed in the commerce of the two Indies, and which draw too much water to come up to Glasgow. This port is little more than three miles above Greenock, on the left bank of the Clyde.

‘ At Greenock, the Clyde extremely broad, surrounded on all sides by high mountains, presents a spacious, deep, and safe road. They are improving, enlarging, and renewing in a manner the basins at Greenock. From Greenock to Port Glasgow the coast is bordered by docks for ship-building.

‘ At Greenock, I visited a manufactory of ropes, having the fire-pump as the moving power. This manufactory is carried on according to the principles of captain Huddart; but it is here reduced to its simplest elements, which allows its mechanism to be better perceived.

‘ Before quitting the environs of Glasgow, I had particularly at heart to visit the famous foundry of Carron, near Sterling; I wished at least to attempt to see it, for I knew, that very few English and no foreigners were admitted. Thus prince Nicholas, notwithstanding all the royal recommendations with which his highness was provided, had not been able to obtain admission, I myself was modestly, but warmly recommended as a amateur, *un dilettante, di belle cose*. I underwent first an interrogatory in form. Are you a merchant, or manufacturer? No, and not even concerned in the smallest enterprise. In what view do you travel? As a friend of the sciences and arts, for my instruction. Let this gentleman enter.

‘ The works of Carron are immense, particularly during war. In this foundery are manufactured almost all the artillery used in the English navy, bullets, bombs, &c. Carronades are called by that name, because the first pieces of that kind were made at Carron.

‘ Independent of artillery, I saw iron manufactured into many articles equally various in their form and use, from those vast boilers employed in the colonies for the preparation of sugar, to those light and delicate vessels, which are turned with great ease, and which it has never yet been found possible to manufacture with any iron, except that of Great Britain. I remarked also objects of luxury, such as grates, &c.; they are embellished by sculptures modelled with a great delicacy of execution, and even with a good deal of taste in the design.

‘ Immense cylindrical bellows, with a reservoir of air to render the action of the wind constant, appeared to me very deserving of observation. Steam-engines of great power, streams of water that are very abundant in autumn, in winter, and in spring, are the moving powers employed to execute the principal operations.

‘ Nature has placed the mines of iron and coal very near the establishment. These primary substances are brought partly by iron railways, partly by the canal, which communicates with the foundery by a branch. The products of the manufacture may thus, by a very short passage, be transported by water, either into the Atlantic or German oceans.

‘ To avoid the winding navigation of the Clyde below Glasgow; and particularly below Greenock, where the river terminates between high promontories, lord Eglinton has formed the plan of building a harbour at Ardrossan, and of joining it with the harbour of Glasgow by a canal already finished as far as Paisley. Part of these works are in full activity.

‘ A vast bay, in the form of a crescent, presents, at its northern point the harbour of Ardrossan, and at its southern, the harbour of Troon, destined for the exportation of coal. An iron railway, ten miles long, brings the coal from the mines near Kilmarnock, to the vessels that are anchored in Troon bay: these vessels generally carry their cargo to Ireland, where there are scarcely any coal-mines worked.

‘ I have seen diligences established on the iron railway from Kilmarnock to Troon bay; they give the idea of an enormous nomadic vehicle, and yet are drawn without effort by a single horse.

‘ I examined the port of Ayr, which, like all those placed at the mouth of a river, can receive only vessels that draw very little depth of water, unless the entrance be deepened by immense works; this has not yet been done for Ayr.

‘ After having examined these different harbours, I quitted Scotland crossing the river Esk on my way to Carlisle.

‘ If I had been able, in so short an exposition, to give but a general idea, of all the institutions, all the works, undertaken within

these few years for the prosperity of Scotland, I should have presented one of the pictures most calculated to excite the admiration of all men, and a worthy object for the meditation of the sage. It is a noble spectacle to see a people, naturally poor, employ their activity, their constancy, and their genius, in triumphing over a stubborn nature,—in rendering sterility itself productive; a people who, thinking of the riches of the mind as well as those of the senses, make agriculture, commerce, manufactures, instruction, morality, and liberty, flourish at once.'

ART. III.—*On the Introduction of the Steam Engine to the Peruvian Mines.*

[From the first volume of the 'Transactions of the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall.']

AS the introduction of Cornish machinery and Cornish intellect, to the Spanish American mines, hitherto interdicted to foreigners, will probably form a remarkable epoch in the history of mineralogy, some notices of that singular event may, perhaps, be deemed worthy of record in the annals of the Cornwall Geological Society.

Occurrences trivial in themselves, and apparently fortuitous, sometimes lead to important results. Among the captains or foremen, of our Cornish mines, there are not a few, who, in addition to great skill in practical mining, attain to much mechanical knowledge and ingenuity. Captain Richard Trevithick, of Camborne, is one of that superior class of miners, and one whose talents and attention had been long employed in plans to increase the power of the steam engine. He so far succeeded as at length to obtain a patent for his invention. In the mean time he had constructed a working model of his high pressure engine, which was so perfectly finished, that it found its way to London as a cabinet curiosity.

About the same period, a native of Switzerland, M. François Uvillé, had found in Peru, some of the richest mines falling into decay, or totally drowned, from the impossibility of draining them by manual labour; and hearing also that these mines were richer in silver ore than those of Mexico, he conceived the idea of introducing the steam engine, and determined to make the requisite inquiries when he returned to Europe. It appears that he came to London in the year 1811, but met with no encouragement to pursue his plan, on account of the impossibility, as it was thought, of transporting such ponderous materials several hundred miles over mountains, inaccessible to any species of wheel carriage; and also from the inefficacy of steam in an atmosphere so rare as that on the elevation of the Peruvian Cordilleras. About to leave England, in despair of accomplishing his great object, and passing by Fitzroy-square, he accidentally saw the model of a steam engine exposed for sale in the shop of a Mr. Roland. He examined it, and being struck with the simplicity and excellence of the prin-

simple and construction, he purchased it at the price of twenty guineas. This was the Trevithick model. Mr. Uville took it to Lima, and hastened to try its effects on the highest ridges of Pasco. The experiment so convinced him and others of the adequacy of its powers, and the practicability of conveying the machinery in parts, that on the 17th July, 1812, he formed an association with don Pedro Abadia, and don Jose Aresmendi, opulent merchants of Lima, for the purpose of contracting with the proprietors of the flooded mines. The marquis de Concordia, then viceroy of Peru, approved the plan, and, under his protection, the new company entered into contracts to draw several of the principal mines, for certain shares of the gross produce of ores; making an average ratio of 25 per cent. or one fourth part of the whole. These contracts were made in the month of August, 1812; and in pursuance thereof, Mr. Uville again embarked for Europe, and reaching Jamaica, he took his passage to Falmouth, in the Fox packet, captain Tilley, which arrived in the early part of the summer, 1813. Mr. Uville's mind was too full of the flattering expectations which his scheme inspired, not to be making frequent inquiries among his fellow passengers about mines and engines. One day conversing on this favourite subject with a Mr. Teague, and expressing an anxious wish to find out, if possible, the author of the model he carried to Lima, he was most agreeably surprised to hear Mr. Teague reply, 'Mr. Trevithick is my near relative, and within a few hours after our arrival at Falmouth, I can bring you together.' It so happened accordingly, and in consequence, Mr. Uville resided several months with captain Trevithick, at Camborne; and was by him instructed in the practice of mining, and in the management of machinery.

After acquiring much practical information in Cornwall, Mr. Uville, accompanied by Mr. Trevithick, visited other mining districts, and London. He was introduced by a scientific gentleman, Mr. Campbell, of the East-India house, to Messrs. Bolton and Watt, as being the first steam engineers in the universe. He explained to those gentlemen the elevation of the mines, and the mountainous precipices to be surmounted, and they were of opinion that it was not possible to attain the object in contemplation.

Notwithstanding the weight of a decision from such high authority, captain Trevithick was not deterred from the pursuit. He applied his mind intensely to some improvement of his high pressure engine, and, having succeeded, he entered into an engagement with Mr. Uville, on the 8th of January, 1814, to provide the apparatus for nine engines, which cost about 10,000 pounds, and were despatched by the ship Wildman, which sailed from Portsmouth on the 1st of September, 1814, accompanied by Mr. Uville, and three Cornishmen, namely, Thomas Trevarthen of Crowan, Henry Vivian of Camborne, and William Ball of Chase-water, to direct the erection of the machinery; permission having been granted by the British government. They arrived safely at

Lima, and were welcomed by a royal salute, and public rejoicings. Such, however, are the almost insurmountable difficulties to the transport of such heavy materials, that it was not till the middle of the year 1816, that the first steam engine, ever seen in South America, began to work.

Great ceremony, it appears, was observed on the occasion, and the most distinguished honours vouchsafed by the viceregal government. The official deputation appointed to superintend this new and very extraordinary operation, made a report to his excellency the viceroy, conceived in the high sounding style of Spanish diplomacy. This report was published by authority in the Lima Gazette, of the 10th of August, 1816. 'Immense and incessant labour,' (they say) 'and boundless expense, have conquered difficulties hitherto esteemed altogether insuperable; and we have, with unlimited admiration, witnessed the erection, and astonishing operation of the first steam engine. It is established in the celebrated and royal mineral territory called the mountain of Yaurichocha, in the province of Tarma; and we have had the felicity of seeing the drain of the first shaft in the Santa Rosa mine, in the noble district of Pasco.' 'We are ambitious' (they continued) 'of transmitting to posterity, the details of an undertaking of such prodigious magnitude, from which we anticipate a torrent of silver, that shall fill surrounding nations with astonishment.' They then go on to name a number of individuals on whom the 'eternal gratitude of all good Spaniards is invoked;' and it is somewhat remarkable that the only Englishman mentioned by name in this list of worthies is Mr. Bull!

In the meantime, Mr. Trevithick had been employed in providing further supplies of engines, considerable quantities of coining apparatus for the royal mint of Peru, and also furnaces for purifying silver ore by fusion; an experiment which will be, if it succeeds, of incalculable advantage to the American mines, as amalgamation becomes more and more expensive and limited by the want of quicksilver. This second cargo of machinery was sent by the ship *Asp*, a South sea whaler, which sailed from Mount's bay on the 20th of October; and after a quick voyage, arrived at Lima on the 6th of February. Mr. Trevithick went out in this vessel accompanied by Mr. Page of London, attorney-at-law, and James Sanders, an engine-maker. He was immediately presented to the viceroy, was most graciously received, welcomed by the most flattering attention of the inhabitants; and his arrival was officially announced in the Lima gazette, of the 12th of February. By this gazette public notice was given of the completion of the second engine, said to be far superior in size and beauty to the first, with a detail of the wonderful effects produced, and announcing the reception of some parcels of ore of extraordinary richness, raised from the mines thus restored by the operation of the steam engines; and continues thus—'To this agreeable intelligence we have the happiness to add, that of the arrival of the British ship

Asp, from London, having on board a large quantity of machinery, consigned to the royal mint of this city, and for constructing eight engines equal to those already erected on the Santa Rosa, and Yauriacocha mines in Pasco, with this advantage, that they are of the latest improvement. But that which is of still greater importance, is the arrival of don Ricardo Trevithick, an eminent professor of mechanics, machinery, and mineralogy, inventor and constructor of the engines of the last patent, and who directed in England the execution of the machinery now at work in Pasco. This professor, with the assistance of the workmen who accompany him, can construct as many engines as shall be wanted in Peru, without the necessity of sending to Europe for any part of these vast machines. The excellent character of don Ricardo, and his ardent desire to promote the interests of Peru, recommend him to the highest degree of public estimation, and make us hope that his arrival in this kingdom will form the epoch of its prosperity, through the enjoyment of its internal riches, which could not be realised without such assistance, or if the British government had not permitted the exportation from England, an object hitherto deemed unattainable by all who know how jealous that nation is of all her superior inventions in the arts or industry.'

It is to be observed, that the engine which has obtained such singular celebrity in South America, is on the principle of captain Trevithick's improvement; whereby he sought, through intense heat, to impart a greater elastic force to the steam; and which is necessary to its application in the rare atmosphere of very elevated regions; a result, however, not at all in contemplation when he was studying the improvement.

So much importance was attached to Mr. Trevithick's personal superintendence, that the viceroy ordered the lord warden of the mines to escort him with a guard of honour to the mining district, where the news of his arrival in America caused the greatest rejoicings; and many of the chief men came to Lima, a distance of many days' journey over the mountains, to welcome him. Mr. Uvillé wrote to his associates, 'that heaven had sent him out for the prosperity of the mines; and that the lord warden proposed to erect his statue in massy silver.' In this narrative of incidents, almost romantic, it is not the least to be remarked, that a Cornish miner should be found superintending the royal mint of Peru. Such, it appears, is the fact; and that Mr. Trevithick had also been directed to use his endeavours to increase the powers of the coining machinery six fold: a circumstance which shows the confidence of the government in obtaining a vast increase of the precious metals. It was necessary to augment the power of a water wheel; but the means of so doing, were to be found only within the inclosure of a convent, of one of the strictest orders, into which it was not permitted for any male, (except the father confessor) on any pretence, to enter. The officers of the mint, having before made every effort to obtain access, were so convinced of the utter impossibility

of succeeding, that they could not be induced to renew the application. That which the strong arm of power had failed to do, Mr. Trevithick accomplished; and the triple doors were unbarred to a layman, a foreigner, and a heretic. Probably he had not yet learnt the fearful respect with which these consecrated retreats are regarded by the natives; and accustomed not to shrink from difficulties, he resolved to go straight forward, and boldly ask admission. Whether the novelty of such a visit, or a curiosity to see the celebrated stranger, removed the interdict, does not appear: entrance, however, was obtained; and the manner and result cannot be so well told as in his own words.

‘Without the knowledge of don Abadia, or any one except Mr. Page and my interpreter, I walked up, without seeming to know there was any objections to admit men, and rung the bell at the outer door. A female slave came to the grate, to whom the interpreter told my name and business, which she carried in. Presently three aged nuns appeared, and said I could not be admitted. I informed them that I had come from England for the purpose of improving the royal mint, and could not proceed without examining and measuring the water-courses. They then retired, and, after consultation, were admitted, conducted over the premises, and shown the chapel and other places without reserve.’

The latest accounts left captain Trevithick in the enjoyment of increasing distinction, and a flattering prospect of great wealth: having in addition to his emoluments as patentee and engineer, one fifth part or share in the Lima company, from which, it is said, on a moderate computation, 100,000 pounds per ann. may be expected. His great influence in the country, his zeal for the prosperity of this society, and the promises, repeated since his arrival in Peru, joined to his knowledge of mineralogy, will enrich our cabinets with a more splendid and instructive series of South American specimens than has yet reached Europe.

These notices of the extraordinary fact, of Cornwall stretching out the beneficent hand of science, to the remotest regions of the earth, will excite, perhaps, different feelings and anticipations in the mind of the statesman, the miner, and the merchant; but the philosopher will rejoice in the diffusion of useful knowledge. He will hail with pleasure every approach to that free international communication of the benefits peculiar to each, which the best of men have wished, and the wisest recommended. In this instance we see the barriers of national jealousy and religious bigotry yielding to the force of truth. We have seen the unprecedented phenomenon of a Lima gazette extolling the superior attainments of foreigners, and the liberality of the British government, for imparting the benefits of our improvements.

Whether ‘the torrent of silver,’ which the Peruvian viceregal deputation so confidently anticipate, will produce effects analogous to those experienced in Europe by the great influx of the precious metals in the 16th century, and accelerate the march of improvement

in art and science, may form a subject of curious speculation. To a scientific society, it must always be pleasing to contemplate the progress of instruction: but at the same time it will be the cause of regret to the members of this institution, that it may still be said, 'Cornwall has no school of mines—no professor's chair—no suitable encouragement to promote the pursuit of mineralogical science.' Shall we wait to be taught the value of such establishments by the half-peopled, half-civilized wilds of America?—I hope not.

ART. IV.—*Plan of the New Bank of the United States.*

[The engraved plate accompanying this number, represents the front elevation of the new Bank of the United States, according to the design of Mr. Strickland, which has been adopted by the directors. It is to be built of Pennsylvania marble, on the site lately purchased for the purpose, in Chesnut street, between Fourth and Fifth streets.]

IN the design and proportions of this edifice, we recognize the leading features of that celebrated work of antiquity, the Parthenon at Athens. In selecting this example as a model for a building such as a Bank, requiring a peculiar internal arrangement and distribution of space and light, it becomes a difficult task for an architect to preserve *all* the characteristics of a Grecian temple, whose original design and appropriation was solely for the worship of the gods, and for the depositories of public treasure. The peripteros or flanking columns of a Grecian building, produce a decidedly beautiful feature in architecture. But they cannot be applied with their proper effect to places of business, without a consequent sacrifice of those principles which have a constant application to internal uses and economy. The design before us is of the Grecian Doric—characterised as *Hypaethros*, having eight fluted columns, 4 feet 6 inches in diameter, embracing the whole front, taken from the Parthenon, or temple of Minerva, hecatompedon at Athens, being divested of the columns of the peripteros and pronaus, of the sculptured metopes, of the freize, and the basso-relievo figures in the tympanum of the pediment.

The columns rise from a basement 6 feet in elevation, supporting a plain entablature, extending along the sides of a parallelogram 86 by 160 feet, including the body of the building and porticos that project 10 feet 6 inches from each of the fronts. The vertical angle of the pediment is 152° ; forming an uninterrupted line from end to end of the ridge or apex of the roof.

The ascent to the porticos from the street, is by a flight of six steps, to a terrace or platform, extending 16 feet on each flank, and in front of the edifice.

It is on this terrace that the building is reared, and from which it derives a great portion of its effect. The gateways on the right and left, open into paved avenues, which extend from Chesnut to Library streets, along each of the flanks, serving to insulate the

building from surrounding objects, it being inclosed along these avenues by a return of the iron railing exhibited in the front elevation.

The door of entrance opens into a spacious pronasus or vestibule, leading to the banking-room, which is placed immediately in the centre of the building. On the right and left of the vestibule is the loan office and transfer office, which are entirely distinct from the rooms appropriated to banking purposes. The banking-room *in plan*, is a spacious parallelogram of 45 by 80 feet, containing twelve polished marble pillars, of the Ionic order, copied from the temple of Minerva Polias, at Priene, these pillars are placed at a distance of 8 feet from the sides of the room, and support a vaulted pannelled ceiling, across its shortest diameter. The desks, and counters, range throughout the intercolumniations, forming a capacious area in the centre and along their sides, for the transaction of business. The president's and cashier's rooms, on the north, together with the vaults and private stairways on the south, are adjacent to the sides of the banking-room, and can only be approached by doors of communication from this room. The stockholders', directors', and committee rooms, are situated on the southern front of the building, having passages of communication with each other and with the banking-room. It is to be remarked that in the plan all the rooms are bounded by parallel walls, at right angles from the fronts and flanks; that these rooms are lighted exclusively from the flanks of the building, which are at a distance of 33 1-2 feet from the boundary lines of the lot, affording ample space for the circulation of light and air in every direction.

ART. V.—*Outlines of the Mineralogy and Geology of Boston and its Vicinity; with a Geological Map.* By J. Trueman Dana, M.D. and Samuel L. Dana, M.D. Boston, 1818. Pages 108.

THE increasing attention paid to the study of mineralogy and geology, from the manifest utility of such researches, renders every publication of this kind, that promises to add to the stock of real knowledge, very interesting. Accurate accounts of the mineralogy and geology of particular districts are peculiarly desirable: for the fabulous age of geology has passed by; and we find it more necessary at present to record facts than to frame theories. Hence, although M. Godon had gone over the same ground with Messrs. Dana, we were rejoiced to see a book that promised a more full, and a more accurate account of the district under observation than he had presented to us. Not that M. Godon's name is mentioned by the present writers, or his memoir even alluded to in the list of authors and works consulted: but we took for granted that we should be amply repaid in the present work, from its correcting the mistakes, or supplying the omissions of the very ingenious and well-informed observer who had preceded Messrs. Dana.

The works 'consulted in prefacing' the present outlines, are the mineralogies of Cleaveland, Kirwan, Jameson, and Aikin, and

Werner's Nomenclature of Colours, by Patrick Syme. These works have indeed been consulted to much advantage by the present compilers, for at least three fourths of the volume now under review, has been borrowed for the mere purposes of eking out the matter to the proper size of a *justum volumen*—of borrowing the most elementary ideas of the most common authors.

'We presume (say these gentlemen, in the preface, p. 5,) that the student is well acquainted with the introduction to professor Cleaveland's work, before he attempts practically to pursue mineralogy; if he is not, we would advise him to lay aside these pages, till he is master of those.' Now we may assert without fear of contradiction, that a student who has read either Cleaveland, Jameson, or Aikin, will find not a sentence that is new in at least nine tenths of the present book; which is in fact a disgraceful example of literary book making, as it respects both the matter and the manner.

First we have a synoptical table of the minerals described in the work, which table comprises also a brief description of some of the leading characters of the minerals mentioned. This does not contain one sentence of information, not to be found in the elementary authors who have supplied it. Nineteen pages, with the preface, next comes phosphat of lime, by Messrs. Dana called apatite, which we apprehend from its colour and other properties, to be moroxite. This occupies above a page. Then the limestones occupy seven pages, of which the localities only, can be said to be new, and these may occupy about a quarter of a page if put together. Then the mineral quartz occupies four pages, mica and felspar three: with not one circumstance of peculiarity attached to them, geological or mineralogical: and so on, during seventy-six pages, of which the real information might be most easily compressed in six; especially if we were to use a moderate page, instead of one where 'a rivulet of text meanders through a meadow of margin.' We looked in vain for some interesting fact or observation under the heads Amygdaloid and Basalt—for some thing that might lead us to draw a conclusion, whether these minerals in the neighbourhood of Boston had a right to be considered as volcanic; that there is room for such an opinion, we know from the specimens in our own collection; but we looked in vain. It will be difficult to point out one sentence of interest or of novelty in these seventy-six pages, except that the shoalstone, found, as it is supposed, at Chelmsford, is called Chelmsfordite by Messrs. Dana; who, if they have added nothing to our knowledge of minerals, are willing to contribute to the burthen of nomenclature. As a proof that we have reason thus to find fault, we will take a whole page at hazard; for it may truly be said of these pages, 'ex uno disce omnes.'

'Order 11. Steatite.

'Species XV. STEATITE.

'Common Steatite. *Cleaveland*, p. 350. Steatite, *Jameson*, vol. 1, p. 418.

' Semi-indurated steatite, *Kirwan*, vol. 1, p. 151. Soapstone, *Aikin*, p. 249.

' *External Characters.*

' Its colours are gray and green. Of gray, it occurs greenish gray; of green, asparagus green, and blackish green.

' Its lustre is faintly glimmering and dull.

' It is translucent at the edges.

' It is amorphous.

' It has a very unctuous feel.

' It gives a slight argillaceous odour, when breathed on.

' It adheres slightly to the tongue.

' The streak is white.

' It is soft and very soft.

' The fracture is uneven and splintery.

' It is brittle.

' It is easily frangible.

' The fragments are indeterminately angular and blunt edged.

' The specific gravity is about 2,750.

' *Chymical Characters.*

' Before the blowpipe it loses colour, and fuses into a white enamel.

' *Geological Situation and Locality.*

' It occurs massive and disseminated in carbonat of lime, at Chelmsford.'

Thus are the pages for the most part made up of the commonest descriptions of the commonest minerals, so printed, as to occupy the greatest possible space.

Upon the geological part of this treatise, every reader will remark the inclination to multiply denominations of the same substance.

Werner's arrangement of rocks is adopted, to wit, granite, argillite, primitive trap, porphyry, sienite. Amygdaloid, gray wache. Sand, pebbles, clay, peat.

Then we have graphic granite, and porphyrite granite, common greenstone, greenstone porphyry, and green porphyry: sienitic porphyry, and porphyritic sienite. Now, all these, although well enough to be distinguished in a lady's cabinet of minerals, are hardly distinguishable *geologically*. They are merely varieties of the rock granite, or the primitive trap, which includes hornblende and its mixtures with felspar. But we looked at the map, for these varieties in vain. Even granite is not to be found on it.

We see little added to the account given us by M. Godon, in the third volume of the *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, although Messrs. Dana do not condescend to mention his name. He notices and describes, eight varieties of primitive trap or hornblende rock, four varieties of felspar rock, petrosilex, porphyry, argillite, wache, and amygdaloid *geologically*.

Of the minerals in the neighbourhood of Boston, he notices limestone, quartz, felspar, hornblende, epidote, actynolite, mica,

asbestos, talc, chorite, garnet, schorl, buyll, peat, copper, iron with its varieties, specular, oydulated, arsenical, sulphuretted, carbonated, and manganese.

The *geological* description of the district in question, as given by Messrs. Dana, would admit of many remarks of doubt: but it is not of sufficient importance, or drawn up with sufficient knowledge of the subject, to require further notice on our part. After the very commendable example of condensation, which professor Cleaveland has given us, in his valuable compilation on mineralogy, we should have expected from writers acquainted with his book, and living in his neighbourhood, more information and fewer words. And we hope the next treatise on mineralogy, from our fellow-labourers in New England, who understand the subject so well, will imitate in this respect the praise-worthy example of the professor at Bowdoin.

ART. VI.—*Memoir of the late Warren Hastings, Governor General of Bengal from 1774 to 1785.*

[Extracted from the Asiatic Journal, for December 1818.]

THE Rt. Hon. WARREN HASTINGS, late Governor-general of British India, one of his Majesty's most honourable privy council, LL. D. and F. R. S. traced his descent from a very ancient and respectable family at Daylesford, in the county of Worcester, where his remote ancestors had for many ages held a considerable landed estate. This estate had been alienated in 1715, continued out of the family for two generations, and was repurchased by Mr. Hastings in 1789. He was born in the year 1733. His father, who was a clergyman and enjoyed a benefice at Churchill, a village near Daylesford, in Worcestershire, seems neither to have inherited affluence, nor to have amassed a fortune; and dying while Warren was of tender years, left him unprovided for. The care of his education devolved on an uncle, Mr. Howard Hastings, who sent him to Westminster school. At this seminary he exhibited marks of superior genius, and won the friendly regard of Dr. Nichols, the head master. His great proficiency in literature did credit as well to the preceptor as the pupil; and when he left Westminster, he was esteemed one of the best scholars of that foundation. He was removed to Oxford at sixteen, but had scarcely become a resident there, when the death of his uncle consigned him to other guardians. Dr. Nichols generously offered to furnish money to complete his education at the university; but Mr. Creswick, an India director and executor to his uncle, proposed to send him to Bengal with a writer's appointment.

Young Warren availed himself of Mr. Creswick's patronage, and sailing from England in the winter of 1749, arrived at Calcutta in the ensuing summer. His course of education for public business, answering to the preparatory interval consumed in studying one of the learned professions, may be dated from this period.

Mr. Hastings says of himself, in his defence during the impeachment, 'With the year 1750, I entered the service of the East India Company; and from that service I have derived all my official habits, all the knowledge which I possess, and all the principles which were to regulate my conduct in it.' This early initiation into habits of business may have its advantages in a few rare instances, i. e. when the youth has already a manly intellect; when the value of every redeemable opportunity for improvement is perceived by native sagacity, and the premature separation from compulsory studies is compensated by voluntary application. Mr. Hastings was first attached to one of the factories in Bengal. In affairs which depended on industry, he was indefatigable; where genius could shorten the way to a successful conclusion, he showed acuteness and invention. After the daily requisitions of office were satisfied, he had some hours which he might either waste or improve. In these he gave himself assiduously to the study of the Persian and Hindustanee languages, and to the cultivation of those attainments which increased his qualifications for the Company's service. At the same time, he began to observe the relations of the native powers with the eye of a statesman. His application was crowned with such rapid advances in commercial and political knowledge, that he was selected by the presidency to attempt the establishing of a factory in the interior parts of Bengal, where no European had hitherto penetrated; and though the design was then defeated by the sudden intervention of a turbulent period, he conciliated the esteem of the natives among whom he had resided.

In 1756, Surajah Dowlah having made himself master of Calcutta, issued orders for the seizing of all the English in Bengal, and Mr. Hastings was one of those who were carried prisoners to Moorshadabad, that tyrant's capital. Even at that court he had already inspired with personal respect, men who had the power to protect him. He was treated with humanity, received many distinguishing attentions, and was permitted to reside at the Dutch factory of Calcapore.

When Col. Clive retook Calcutta, Mr. Hastings served as a volunteer in his army. Surajah Dowlah, who had aimed at the expulsion of the English, exhibited a striking instance of the mutability of human affairs. His defeat at Plassey by Col. Clive was followed by his dethronement, and the substitution of Meer Jaffier. This revolution took place in 1757, and made it expedient to have a resident at the court of the Nabob. Col. Clive showed that discernment of men which marked his character by selecting Mr. Hastings to act as the honourable Company's minister. As his zeal and fidelity in previous duties led to this appointment, so his able conduct as resident recommended him to a still higher office; and in 1761 he became a member of the council at Calcutta. At the council board he distinguished himself by the elegant composition of the minutes which he delivered, according to the custom

of the service, on the subjects for deliberation; and he was held in high consideration by his colleagues for the soundness of his judgment.

In 1765 Mr. Hastings returned to England in H. M.'s ship the *Medway*, with his friend Mr. Vansittart, at that time governor of Bengal. The fortune with which he had retired, after a service of upwards of fourteen years, was originally moderate; and an unexpected diminution made his income very small. He had brought with him only a part of his acquisitions; and by some casualty the remittance of the remainder failed. To repair this deficiency, he exerted his interest for a reappointment in India; and it is a curious fact, that the same individual who afterwards became all-powerful with the Company, could not at that time obtain permission to return.

Mr. Hastings now lived in England, cultivating literature and enjoying the society of men of genius; among whom were the great lord Mansfield and Dr. Samuel Johnson. Three letters to him from the doctor have been preserved by Mr. Boswell; who, speaking of the condescension with which Mr. Hastings communicated to him these letters, delineates the following short sketch of his character: 'Warren Hastings, whose regard reflects dignity even upon Johnson; a man the extent of whose abilities was equal to that of his power; and who, by those who are fortunate enough to know him in private life, is admired for his literature and taste, and beloved for the candour, moderation, and mildness of his character. Were I capable of paying a suitable tribute of admiration to him, I should certainly not withhold it a moment when it is not possible that I should be suspected of being an interested flatterer. But how weak would be my voice, after that of millions whom he governed.'

In 1766, the year after his return, he had, in concert with Dr. Johnson, formed a plan for instituting a professorship of the Persian language at Oxford, with a view of undertaking the office; but a surprising revolution was preparing in his fortunes. In the winter of the same year, Mr. Hastings being examined at the bar of the House of Commons, during an inquiry into the affairs of the Company, attracted general notice by his prompt, masterly, and intelligent expositions. In consequence of this unsought display, his talents were soon after called into action. The court of directors were desirous to have a person of eminent ability to succeed to the presidency of Madras; he was accordingly appointed second in council at that settlement, with a provision that he was to succeed Mr. Dupre, their then governor. Mr. Hastings was recommended to this appointment by some of the very men whose opinions in politics the tenor of his own uniformly opposed; a circumstance which we can only attribute to a disinterested choice on one side, and singular merit on the other. He continued in that station until February 1772, when his great talents were required in Bengal. Owing to mismanagement abroad, and the

want of adaptation to circumstances not anticipated in orders sent from home, the affairs of Calcutta and its dependencies had become much embarrassed, and reduced to an alarming state of distress. The court of directors thought no person so capable of retrieving them as Mr. Hastings. They accordingly sent a despatch to Madras, enjoining him to proceed immediately to Bengal, to assume the administration at a fixed day to which they had limited the stay of the present governor, Mr. Cartier.

Mr. Hastings succeeded to this arduous charge in April 1772. He found the funds of that settlement loaded with a debt of near three millions sterling, bearing a heavy rate of interest; but in less than two years he had discharged that debt, and had replenished the treasury with a sum in specie to the same amount.

Unfortunately for the interest of the British nation in India, the gentlemen who were joined with Mr. Hastings in the council, Mr. Barwell excepted, entertained habitual prejudices against his system of administration with a corresponding attachment to their own views. Hence they commenced an opposition to his plans; and three votes gave them the ascendancy until the death of Col. Monson, which happened in Nov. 1776, when the equal division of members gave the governor general the casting vote. General Clavering died in August 1777. Mr. Wheeler had been appointed early in that year to succeed Col. Monson; he commonly voted with Mr. Francis. The force of talent in the council being no longer almost neutralized by pertinacious obstruction, the first effect was, that the fruits of the measures originating with Mr. Hastings were more decisive and apparent; the second was, that the leading men of this country reposed in his talents a higher confidence; and the legislature, who had twice before continued his appointment for short, and as it were probationary terms, extended it to ten years.

In 1774 parliament changed the whole system for governing British India, and managing the political affairs of the Company at home; and appointed a supreme council at Calcutta, which was to control all the other settlements. Under this new arrangement the legislature appointed Mr. Hastings the first governor general for a term of five years. In 1778 he was continued for one year more; in 1779 again for one year more; in 1781 for ten years; and in 1784 his appointment was confirmed by the act of parliament that formed the present government of India.

The purport of his commission given by the court was, 'that the directors of the East India Company appointed Warren Hastings, Esq. governor general of all their possessions in India, and invested him with the whole government, civil and military.'

From 1765, when this country acquired the sovereignty of Bengal, it had been the custom to entrust the departments of the revenue and of judicial proceedings to native ministers. Under that system of collection, the annual revenues were a million below the sum they were calculated to produce. Mr. Hastings effected

a great revolution. He changed the whole face of the interior administration in the departments of finance and judicature.

The year preceding, the total annual resources of the Bengal government were £3,132,319. He left it in 1785, when its annual resources were £5,218,815 in English money, being an increase of more than £2,000,000 a year. These revenues had in 1795 increased to £5,500,000, from the successful operation of a system adopted by Mr. Hastings; a system for which he was impeached.

The following branches of resource were created by Mr. Hastings, and have produced, in the year 1785:—

| | | |
|------------------------|------------|-----|
| Post-office collection | £14,340 | Os. |
| Oude subsidy - - | 535,665 | 10 |
| Benares revenue - - | 433,341 | 10 |
| Salt - - - - - | 964,971 | 12 |
| Opium - - - - - | 182,263 | 10 |
| | <hr/> | |
| | £2,130,592 | 2 |
| | <hr/> | |

His arrangements for Oude and its dependencies furnished matter for sixteen articles of impeachment; and the result of those arrangements is simply this: that between 1773 and 1794, the Company had actually received £16,000,000 sterling into its treasury more than it would have done, if Mr. Hastings had not concluded that engagement with Surajah Dowlah, in 1773, which is known by the name of the treaty of Benares.

Such have been the consequences of Mr. Hastings having disobeyed orders; for he was charged with disobedience of orders, in marching a brigade beyond the bounds of Surajah Dowlah's dominions.

From 1765, when lord Clive acquired the Duannee, to 1772, when Mr. Hastings came to the government, nearly a third of our military force was either in Oude or Corah, and paid by the extraction of specie from Bengal. But from 1772 a third of our army was paid by the sovereign of Oude, independant of the very large sums in specie brought from Oude into Bengal, in consequence of the Rohilla war, and the sale of Corah and Allahabad.

Never was there a man eminent in public life whose conduct had been more rigidly inquired into, or more freely commented upon; and no character has come out more bright from a fierce crucible. If he was powerfully attacked, he was ably defended, and the warmth of his friends and the candour of the public, at least kept pace with the malice of his detractors, and the exertions of the more honourable assailants who were misled by gross misrepresentations. In 1776, the weight of government was exerted against him, and the influence of his Majesty's ministers personally exercised at the India House to effect his recall; but the majority of the proprietors defeated the attempt, and fixed him in

Bengal. On May 28, 1782, the House of Commons voted, on the motion of Mr. Dundas (then lord advocate, afterwards secretary of state, ultimately lord Melville), that it was the duty of the Court of Directors to displace Mr. Hastings from his government. This happened during the Rockingham administration: but it is an important point to remark, that Mr. Fox, Mr. Dundas, and the other gentlemen who spoke in support of the resolution for Mr. Hastings's removal, acknowledged that his abilities were of the most splendid kind, and his integrity unquestionable. The resolution was in these terms:

‘That Warren Hastings, Esq. Governor general of Bengal, and William Hornby, Esq. president of the council of Bombay, having in sundry instances acted in a manner repugnant to the honour and policy of this nation, and thereby brought great calamities on India, and enormous expenses on the East India Company, it is the duty of the Directors of the said Company to pursue all legal and effectual means for the removal of the said Governor general and President from their respective offices, and to recal them to Great Britain.’

In consequence of this vote, the Court of Directors again took into consideration the state of their affairs, and on the 22d of October determined, by a majority of thirteen to ten, that Mr. Hastings should be recalled. The propriety of this measure was most ably and fully discussed by the proprietors on the 24th and 31st of the same month, when it was determined by ballot that Mr Hastings should remain in his station: the numbers for his continuance being four hundred and twenty-eight against seventy-five. In consequence of this resolution, the next day the vote of recall was rescinded by the Court of Directors. In the month of June 1785, Mr. Hastings returned from India to England, having been at the head of the government of Bengal more than thirteen years.

On the 20th of June 1785, the day Mr. Hastings arrived in England, Mr. Burke gave notice of his intention to move an impeachment of him in the ensuing session. On the 4th of April 1786, he exhibited twenty articles, to which he afterwards added two more; but it was not until 1787, April 10, that the impeachment was voted; it was then carried without a division. The twenty-two articles occupy an octavo volume of four hundred and sixty closely printed pages. The following are their substance; they charge the late Governor general—

‘1. With great injustice, cruelty, and treachery against the faith of nations, in hiring British soldiers for the purpose of extirpating the innocent and helpless people who inhabited the Rohillas.

‘2. With using the authority delegated to him through the East India Company, for treating the king Shah Allum, emperor of Indostan, or otherwise the Great Mogul, with the greatest cruelty, in bereaving him of considerable territory, and withholding forcibly that tribute of twenty-six lacs of rupees, which the Company

engaged to pay as an annual tribute or compensation for their holding, in his name, the Duannee of the rich and valuable provinces of Bengal, and Bahar, and Orissa.

‘ 3. With various instances of extortion, and other deeds of mal-administration against the Rajah of Benares. This article consisted of three different parts, in each of which Mr. Hastings was charged with the most wanton oppressions and cruelties. Mr. Burke annexed to this article papers concerning the rights of the Rajah, his expulsion, and the sundry revolutions which have been effected by the British influence, under the control of the late Governor general, in that zemindary.

‘ 4. With the numerous and insupportable hardships to which the royal family of Oude had been reduced in consequence of their connexion with the Supreme Council.

‘ 5. With having, by no less than six revolutions, brought the fertile and beautiful provinces of Faruckabad to a state of the most deplorable ruin.

‘ 6. With impoverishing and depopulating the whole country of Oude, and rendering that country, which was once a garden, an uninhabited desert.

‘ 7. With a wanton, an unjust, and pernicious exercise of his powers, and the great situation of trust which he occupied in India, in overturning the ancient establishments of the country, and extending an undue influence, by conniving at extravagant contracts and appointing inordinate salaries.

‘ 8. With receiving money against the orders of the Company, the act of Parliament, and his own sacred engagements; and applying that money to purposes totally improper and unauthorised.

‘ 9. With having resigned by proxy for the obvious purpose of retaining his situation, and denying the deed in person, in direct opposition to all those powers under which he acted.

‘ 10. Accuses him of treachery to Muzuffer Jung, who had been placed under his guardianship.

‘ 11. Charges him with enormous extravagance and bribery in various contracts, with a view to enrich his dependants and favourites.’

These are the principal; the other eleven are chiefly connected with, and dependant upon, the foregoing.

A committee was appointed to manage the prosecution, in the name of the Commons:—

Edmund Burke, Esq.; Right Hon. C. J. Fox; R. B. Sheridan, Esq. Right Hon. T. Pelham; Right Hon. W. Windham; Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart.; Charles Gray, Esq.; William Adam, Esq.; Sir John Anstruther; M. A. Taylor, Esq.; lord viscount Maitland; Dudley Long, Esq.; General J. Burgoyne; Hon. George A. North; Hon. Andrew St. John; Hon. A. Fitzherbert; Col. Fitzpatrick; John Courtenay, Esq.; A. Rogers, Esq.; and Sir James Erskine.

On the 13th of February 1788, the trial commenced in Westminster Hall; and seven years afterwards, on the 23d of April

1795, judgment was pronounced by the Lords on the charges, most of them severally, and Mr. Hastings was acquitted of them all. Twenty-nine was the greatest number of peers who voted on this occasion. On the first article of the impeachment, twenty-three voted not guilty, and six guilty. On two of the articles the vote of not guilty was unanimous. The lord chancellor pronounced the judgment:—

‘Warren Hastings, Esq. I am to acquaint you that you are acquitted of the articles of impeachment, &c. exhibited against you by the house of Commons, for high crimes and misdemeanors, and all things contained therein, and you are discharged paying your fees.’

The unprecedented duration of the trial was an enormous evil, both as it bore upon the public and Mr. Hastings; but it was disproportionately grievous to the latter. The expenses to the public of this trial amounted to more than £100,000, and Mr. Hastings’s law expenses to £71,000. In consideration of the weight of this fine for acquittal, and of his services, the East India Company contributed £42,000 towards the payment of his law expenses, and voted him an annual pension of £4000 for twenty-eight years and a half; they afterwards lent him £50,000 without interest. When £16,000 of this loan had been repaid, they relinquished the remainder. In May 1814, the term of his annuity having expired, they voted a renewal of it for his life.

Except a short recess from 1765 to 1767, Mr Hastings was thirty-three years in the service of the East India Company, eleven of which he was governor general of Bengal. One of his collateral measures has been annulled, the communication which was established between this country and India by way of Suez. The trade from Bengal to the Red Sea promised to be highly advantageous, and could never have affected the Company’s sales in England. A contrary opinion however prevailed, and English vessels are no longer permitted to navigate to Suez. The communication was open long enough to convey the Company’s orders for the attack of Pondicherry, an event of high importance.

He brought from India a quantity of precious jewels which the revolutions in that country threw into his hands: these were principally presented to her late Majesty; and there is to be seen at this day in Buckingham House, the throne of the Bengal sovereign, almost covered with diamonds. These offerings inspired the belief that the governor general himself was possessed of inexhaustible wealth—a belief which subsequent events showed to be unfounded.

When the last renewal of the Company’s charter was under discussion in the House of Commons, a desire to make his knowledge and experience in Indian affairs useful to the country induced him to come forward as a voluntary witness. When he retired, the house spontaneously rose, as if by this mark of respect to atone for the injury which their predecessors had committed.

Mr. Hastings married a widow lady, with some family, but has left no children to succeed him. During the latter years of his life he was much attached to horticultural amusements. He died at his seat, Daylesford House, Worcestershire, on the 22d Aug. 1818, in the 86th year of his age, beloved and venerated.

‘In private life, Mr. Hastings was one of the most amiable of human beings. He was the most tender and affectionate husband; he was the kindest master; he was the sincerest friend. He had a “tear for pity, and a hand open as day for melting charity;” his generosity was unbounded in desire, and he did not always calculate on his means of indulging it. He had that true magnanimity which elevated him above all selfish considerations or personal resentments; to those who had been his most implacable enemies, he was ever ready to be reconciled, and to forgive. In his domestic intercourse, he was the most endearing partner, and in his social hours, the most pleasing companion, instructive, affable, cheerful, and complacent; his “nature was full of the milk of human kindness,” without a tincture of gall in its composition. All who knew him loved him, and they who knew him most, loved him best.’

I do not know whether the fact belongs to his private or his public character, that at one time, while Governor general, he paid a very large sum out of his own pocket, to satisfy the demands of some of the natives against another body of natives; a dispute which, had it not been for this liberal and public-spirited act, might have produced a civil war. The above is but an outline. History must say the rest.

ART. VII.—*Anecdotes of Illustrious Females.*

[From *La Belle Assemblée.*]

MARIA LOUISA.

TO a native dignity of mind, and a high sense of her illustrious birth, Maria Louisa united great sweetness of disposition and real tenderness for the feelings of others. One day while she was dressing for a grand court-party, she asked for her diamonds. The lady who had the charge of her jewels searched in vain for the key of the casket in which the diamonds were kept, and she, at length, confessed she could not find it. ‘Well, well,’ said Maria Louisa, in a tone which expressed some degree of displeasure, ‘let me have my pearls then.’ The pearl ornaments were no sooner put on than the emperor entered. He asked her why she did not wear her diamonds? The little feeling of ill humour was over, and the empress instead of returning a direct answer, said, ‘do I not look well as I am?’—‘Oh! very well; you always look well,’ and the conversation was changed to another subject. Maria Louisa knew but too well the irascible temper of her husband, and was fearful of what might happen to the lady for this neglect. Maria Louisa possessed every amiable quality to endear her to

those who intimately knew her, but she wanted that easy familiarity which, in France, serves to seduce the multitude. One evening when she was at the *Theatre Francais*, a lady ventured to tell her that the audience was disappointed at not seeing her, as she remained at the back of her box.—‘What signifies that?’ exclaimed Madame de Montebello, and continued to remark that her majesty did not come there to be exhibited like a curiosity at a fair. These counsels caused the young princess to appear in public with an air of lassitude and restraint: and to use the expressive sentence from the interesting publication from whence we have partly gleaned and abridged these anecdotes, ‘she froze the hearts which would have burned for love of her.’—She conceived a sort of jealousy for Josephine, because she heard her unceasingly extolled for her charity and benevolence, and she was displeased whenever she heard her name mentioned. Yet the young empress was very charitable; but she suffered herself to be deceived in the objects of her bounty. Josephine’s lady of honour always superintended the application of her mistress’s charity, and a small sum of money restored many families to life and happiness. Maria Louisa deducted from the allowance made her for her toilette, a monthly sum of ten thousand franks for the poor: this was double the amount of what Josephine devoted to the same purpose; but unfortunately the business of dispensing it was left to Madame de Montebello’s secretary, who was devoid of principle, delicacy, or prudence, and therefore appropriated to his own use a large portion of the money intrusted to his charge. One day when Maria Louisa had been to visit the *Jardins des Plantes*, she desired Madame de Montebello to present five hundred franks to the gardener; the secretary had orders to deliver them. A few days afterwards, as the duchess was walking in the *Jardin des Plantes*, the gardener came up and returned thanks for the two hundred franks he had received from her majesty: this fraud was overlooked, like many others, and thus the poor were deprived of the bounty the empress intended they should enjoy.

Yet the coldness of Maria Louisa’s character, when not among her intimate friends, was so notorious that she has been reproached with extending it to her own child.

Napoleon once complained to Maria Louisa of the conduct of her mother-in-law and the archdukes towards him: ‘As to the emperor,’ added he; ‘I say nothing of him; he is a *ganache* (a stupid fellow).’ Maria Louisa was not sufficiently versed in modern French to understand him, and asked her attendants what it meant? None of them durst venture to explain, and they told her it meant a serious reflecting man. She did not forget the term, and often used it in a very diverting way. Having once remarked in council, that Cambaceres did not utter a word, she said, ‘I should like to have your opinion on this business, sir, for I know you are a *ganache*!’—At this compliment Cambaceres stared, and repeated in a low voice, ‘*ganache*!’—‘Yes,’ replied the empress,

‘a serious, thinking sort of man.’—No one made any reply, and the discussion proceeded: this was at the time when Maria Louisa was appointed regent.

Her perfidious advisers had prevented her accompanying her husband in his exile to Elba: only one of her ladies ventured to tell her that duty and honour required her not to quit him.—‘You are the only person, Madame, who has told me so,’ said Maria Louisa; ‘all my friends, and particularly M. Caulaincourt, are of a different opinion.’—‘Madame,’ replied the lady; ‘I am, perhaps, the only one who does not betray your majesty.’ The advice, however, was not attended to.

MADAME DE MONTEBELLO.

This female, who had risen from one of the inferior classes in France, was appointed first *dame d'honneur* to Maria Louisa on her marriage with Napoleon. To the countenance of a Madona she united extreme gentleness of manners, and was generally pleasing, though her natural character was cold and reserved. She delicately participated in the feelings of her royal mistress, sympathized with her, consoled her, and so completely insinuated herself into her confidence and favour, that the young empress seemed only to exist in her presence. Dreading the influence of the queen of Naples, Madame de Montebello put in practice every art to prejudice Maria Louisa against her, exaggerating her errors and charging her with those of which she was innocent. The most unfavourable trait in the character of the duchess was that envy, too often inseparable from vulgar minds. Whenever her mistress seemed to distinguish any one, she immediately became the object of the duchess de Montebello's calumny and scandal. The empress was young and credulous, and she was wrought upon to believe Madame de Montebello was the only youthful female of irreproachable character at court; we leave the reader to judge what that character was in reality. Though receiving continually the most costly presents from her munificent patroness, far from manifesting any sentiments of gratitude, she was presumptuous enough to complain of the slavery and confinement to which she submitted, as, she said, merely for the welfare of her children.

Such a woman could not be supposed to be without enemies in an intriguing court. Having obtained leave of absence on account of her health, her enemies availed themselves of this circumstance to propagate a report that she had retired to conceal the consequences of which Napoleon was the author.

The birth of the young Napoleon placed her character in the fairest light, as she appeared to be actuated by real attachment to the empress. She remained in her apartment for nine days, without quitting her for a moment, reposing on a couch in the chamber of her mistress, and evincing the most tender care, anxiety, and attention during the painful and protracted labour.

Bonaparte was mightily attached to etiquette; and Madame de Montebello would often laugh with Maria Louisa at what she, the duchess, called his long sermons, seldom giving him any other name than Monsieur Etiquette.

Two parties then divided the court of France, that of the old nobility, and of those sprung from the revolution: from what has already been stated of Madame de Montebello it may easily be judged that she was the very life and soul of the second party; and though her character was cold, she was warm and hasty in her temper, and on some occasions made no attempt to disguise her feelings, as may be seen by the manner in which she spoke to her royal mistress after the departure of Bonaparte for Elba; some arguments having taken place relative to the propriety of Maria Louisa accompanying her husband, Madame de Montebello exclaimed, 'I am heartily tired of all this: I wish I were once again quietly settled with my children in my little house in the Rue d'Enfer!'—'It is unkind of you to tell me that, duchess,' said the empress, bursting into tears. The duchess, however, declared, that whatever might happen she was determined not to go to Elba. And it always thought that she joined the plot for separating Maria Louisa from her husband, lest she should be, in a manner, compelled to accompany her—a sacrifice by no means accordant with the character of Madame de Montebello.

It has been remarked above that on some occasions she scorned to disguise her sentiments, and had a strange affectation of ignorance when it suited her purpose. Dining one Friday with cardinal Caprara, she refused every thing that was offered her at table. His eminence asked her if she had lost her appetite?—'No, my lord,' replied she; 'but I see only fish and eggs, and I eat nothing but *carnivorous* animals!'

THE PRINCESS OF WALES—from '*Letters of a Prussian Traveller,*' published in 1818.

You must doubtless have heard of a certain illustrious visitant, who this season has chosen Naples for her winter residence, and who, it is understood in the higher circles, is not less pleased with the society of this enchanting capital, than with the attention shown to her by his Neapolitan majesty Joachim Murat, who spares no pains to make her abode in this kingdom agreeable. The queen is said not to be on equally friendly terms with her illustrious guest, the cause of which some attribute to her majesty's want of hospitality; others to those fanciful whims in which the great are too prone to indulge themselves.

The palace of this illustrious personage is splendid, and delightfully situated at the Chiaga, and a guard of honour is stationed, by order of the king, at the entrance of her mansion. Her residence in this capital certainly contributes not a little to enliven its society, as she gives dinner parties every day, and a ball once a week. Mr. Stanhope, Mr. Maxwell, and myself had the honour

of being presented to her by the honourable Mr. Craven, who acts as her chamberlain. We were ushered into a spacious and elegant apartment, where we found a large circle, mostly composed of Neapolitan nobility of both sexes, together with some English of distinction.

I had the honour of dining with this illustrious traveller; and found the society mostly composed of English. Besides those belonging to the establishment, were the earl and lady Landaff, the marquis of Sligo, the honourable Montague Matthew, Madame Falconnet, Mr. and Mrs. Procter, Mr. Coffin, Mr. French, and Mr. Sanvayre.

The ball on the 7th of January was particularly splendid, and was attended by the whole court, as well as all the first society in the place. Many English ladies of rank excited general admiration, as well by the beauty of their persons as by the elegance of their manners, in both which particulars they formed a pleasing contrast to the Neapolitan ladies.

At ten o'clock his majesty arrived: the queen was expected, but it was reported that she was prevented from being present by indisposition. Murat was attended by a long retinue of courtiers, all decked out in embroidered coats, to whom he formed a striking contrast, being simply dressed in a plain green coat with white mother o'-pearl buttons, and a white waistcoat; his shoes were tied with ribband, and he wore no decorations; his mustachios were large and black, and his hair hung loose over his shoulders, without any powder. Such was the dress of this great sovereign, which, it must be confessed, was quite in character.

After he had kissed the hand of the illustrious hostess he walked about the saloon, and conversed with many of the ladies, particularly with the duchess de Gallo, whose husband is prime minister; lady Landaff and lady Oxford also drew a large share of his attention. Murat is considered by the ladies as graceful in his manners, and studious to please all, and appears to be quite a *chevalier Francais* till he opens his mouth, when the charm is at once dissolved. Vulgar oaths seem familiar to him, nor did he restrain himself in the use of them even when conversing with women of the first rank: so disgusting was this to many present, and even to his suite, that I heard several of them make their remarks upon it.

A Neapolitan nobleman near me was bold enough to make several ill-natured observations; among the rest he expressed his surprise that a certain illustrious personage should dress *à-la-Francaise*, and not after the fashion of her own country: he also wondered at her affability in waltzing with strangers. Being desirous of breaking off this conversation, which was neither pleasant nor becoming, I retired to the other side of the saloon, but he soon followed me, and continued his observations. 'Pray, sir,' said he, 'is it customary in England for the pages to waltz in company with the illustrious personages they attend? I am sur-

prised that the young *protégé* does not dance with a lady of his own age; instead of which he chuses one of the best dancers in the ball-room without any regard to the disparity of her years.' The loud laughter of four English gentlemen, who at that moment entered the ball-room, next drew his attention. The fact was, that these boisterous sons of mirth had just quitted a convivial party, and were rather *dans le vigne du Seigneur*, and probably not apprised of the illustrious personage being present.

We had a masked ball given not long before by the same august personage, at a garden near the Castello del Novo, which was equally splendid. The garden belongs to a branch of the royal family: it was lighted with a great variety of coloured lamps; there was also a grand display of fire-works, and every thing went off with *éclat*. The king and the queen attended in masks; his majesty appeared first in a hunting dress, but soon changed his costume to that of a British tar.

THE LATE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

We are told by the public and private records of the times, that a suitable marriage for his majesty was an urgent (as it was a natural) object of state policy, immediately on his coming to the crown; but his known and ardent attachment to lady Sarah Lenox, sister of the duke of Richmond, with some manœuvres of Mr. Fox, afterwards lord Holland, set on foot to foment that youthful passion, hastened the designs of the princess dowager of Wales and of the earl of Bute to bring about the royal marriage. The princess is said to have had in view a niece of her own, at least some princess of the Saxe-Gotha family; but as the house of Saxe-Gotha was supposed to be afflicted with a constitutional disease, that wish was overruled by the cabinet. Lord Bute then sent a confidential dependent, a Scotch officer, reported to be colonel Græme (who was afterwards appointed to be master of St. Catherine's, near the Tower, an excellent place, in the peculiar gift of her majesty,) to visit the inferior German courts, and to select from amongst them a future queen for England. The instructions were said to be, that she should be perfect in her form, of a pure blood, and healthy constitution, possessed of elegant accomplishments, particularly music, to which the king was very much attached, and of a mild and obliging disposition.

Colonel Græme found the reigning princess of Strelitz taking the waters of Pyrmont, and accompanied by her two daughters, with little or no appearance of parade; and where, from the freedom of communication usual at those places, and the ready means of observation, &c. it was no difficult matter to become fully acquainted with their characters and daily habits. Their serene highnesses frequented the rooms, the walks, and partook of the amusements without any distinction that should prevent colonel Græme from being an unsuspected attendant on their parties. Here, it seems, he fixed on the princess Sophia Charlotte Caro-

line, as best according with his matrimonial instructions. She was the youngest daughter of Charles Lewis, brother to Adolphus Frederick, third duke of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz, by Albertine Elizabeth, daughter of Ernest Frederick, duke of Saxe-Hilbourghausen, and was born on the 19th of May, 1744. Her father, however, though in the immediate line of inheritance, as his brother the reigning duke had no issue, and unmarried, did not succeed to the principality; he died before his brother, and thus, upon the death of Frederick, the succession devolved upon his nephew, Adolphus Frederick the fourth, brother to her majesty. The reasons which induced the union between our venerable and afflicted sovereign and the princess of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz could scarcely have been with any political view—with any hope of strengthening the English influence on the continent, since the territory of the dukes of Mecklenburgh was extremely confined; and, indeed they had little else to boast of than an ancient name. It is, however, said, that his majesty first formed the idea of demanding the hand of the princess in marriage, in consequence of a letter which was generally supposed to have been addressed by her about the year 1758, to the king of Prussia, who had caused contributions to be levied on her father's territories. We subjoin the letter, which does infinite credit to the feelings that dictated it, and to the taste that was consulted in its composition, leaving it to our readers to judge whether it is not more like the production of a matured understanding, than the offspring of the mind of a female, who, at the time, was scarcely fourteen years of age. The cause of the appeal was this:—In the latter end of 1757, the king of Prussia, assisted only by England, was assailed by a host of enemies. The courts of Versailles, Warsaw, Vienna, and St. Petersburg were leagued against him. The king of Sweden, Frederick's brother-in-law, thought this was a favourable opportunity to invade his dominions—and, the Russians having obtained a footing in Pomerania, he raised an army, the command of which was given to count Hamilton, in order to co-operate with them. Frederick succeeded in driving both Swedes and Russians from his territories—but as he had been informed that the duke of Mecklenburgh was to have assisted the Swedes, with all the troops he could raise, in case they had been joined by the French or Russians, and that several magazines had been formed in his country for that purpose, the moment he had driven them into Stralsund, he sent a detachment of Prussian troops into the duchy of Mecklenburgh, who not only seized the magazines, but raised contributions as if they had been in an enemy's country, the duke himself having, upon their approach, retired to Lubeck. The princess Charlotte, afflicted by the distresses of her country, is stated to have written in these terms to the king of Prussia:—

'May it please your majesty,—I am at a loss whether I should congratulate, or condole with you on your late victory: since the same success which has covered you with laurels, has overspread

the country of Mecklenburgh with desolation. I know, sire, that it seems unbecoming my sex, in this age of vicious refinement, to feel for one's country, to lament the horrors of war, or wish for the return of peace. I know you may think it more properly my province to study the arts of pleasing, or to inspect subjects of a more domestic nature; but, however unbecoming it may be in me, I cannot resist the desire of interceding for this unhappy people.

'It was but a very few years ago, that this territory wore the most pleasing appearance. The country was cultivated, the peasant looked cheerful, and the towns abounded with riches and festivity! What an alteration, at present, from such a charming scene! I am not expert at description—nor can my fancy add any horrors to the picture; but sure even conquerors themselves would weep at the hideous prospects now before me. The whole country, my dear country, lies one frightful waste, presenting only objects to excite terror, pity, and despair! The business of the husbandman and the shepherd are quite discontinued; the husbandman and the shepherd are become soldiers themselves, and help to ravage the soil they formerly cultivated. The towns are only inhabited by old men, women, and children; perhaps here and there a warrior, by wounds, or loss of limbs, rendered unfit for service, left at his door; his little children hang round him, ask an history of every wound, and grow themselves soldiers before they find strength for the field. But this were nothing, did we not feel the *alternate insolence* of either army, as it happens to advance or retreat, in pursuing the operations of the campaign. It is impossible to express the confusion, even those, who *call* themselves our *friends*, create. Even those from whom we expect redress, oppress us with new calamities. From your justice, therefore, it is, that we hope relief; to you, even *children* and *women* may complain, whose humanity stoops to the meanest petition, and whose power is capable of repressing the greatest injustice.—I am, sire, &c.'

This appeal, which soon found its way to every court in Europe, created a great sensation at the time. It was justly viewed as a very extraordinary production, coming from one so young and so inexperienced. Rumour says, that, on his majesty, it made a deep impression. On the 8th of July, 1761, his majesty caused the privy council to be specially summoned. The council was attended by all the great officers of state—and to them his majesty declared his intentions in the following words:—

'Having nothing so much at heart as to procure the welfare and happiness of my people, and to render the same stable and permanent to posterity, I have, ever since my accession to the throne, turned my thoughts towards the choice of a princess for my consort; and I now, with great satisfaction, acquaint you, that, after the fullest information, and mature deliberation, I am come to a resolution to demand in marriage the princess Charlotte of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz—a princess distinguished by every eminent vir-

tue and amiable endowment, whose illustrious line has constantly shown the firmest zeal for the protestant religion, and a particular attachment to my family. I have judged proper to communicate to you these my intentions, in order that you may be fully apprized of a matter so highly important to me, and to my kingdom—and which, I persuade myself, will be most acceptable to all my loving subjects.'

It will be remembered, that, at this period, the king was little more than twenty-three years of age, and the princess, whom he had chosen for a consort, was but a few months past seventeen. Immediately after the notification to the privy council, his majesty gave directions for demanding and bringing over the princess in a manner suitable to his own dignity, and the respect due to her serene highness.

Lord Harcourt was named to make the demand of her serene highness: the duchesses of Ancaster and Hamilton (the two finest women of the British court,) and the countess of Effingham, to take care of her person: and lord Anson to command a fleet that was to convoy her over to the English shore.

The fleet put to sea on the 8th of August, and, on the 14th, lord Harcourt, and the other lords and ladies sent on this important embassy, arrived at Strelitz. The next morning, at eleven o'clock, the earl of Harcourt performed the ceremony of asking in form her serene highness in marriage for the king his master. The moment the contract of marriage was signed, the cannon fired. Her royal highness was afterwards complimented by the states of the country, and the deputies of the towns.

On the 17th, her highness, accompanied by the reigning duke, her brother, set out for Mirow, amidst the tears and prayers of all ranks of people, the poor in particular, whose zealous patroness she had always shown herself. The 18th she arrived at Perleberg, where she was complimented by the count de Gotter, in the name of his Prussian majesty.

On the 19th, her most serene highness continued her journey, by Leutzen, for Ghorde, where she dined twice in public, and walked in the afternoon in the park. On the 22d, at seven o'clock in the evening, she arrived at Stade, under a general discharge of the cannon of that place, and amidst the acclamations of a vast number of people, both citizens and foreigners. The burgesses of Stade were assembled under arms, and lined the streets through which her most serene highness passed. Some of the principal ladies of the town presented her with verses, on her majesty's approaching nuptials, on velvet cushions. At nine o'clock the whole town was illuminated, and several triumphal arches were erected in the principal streets; on which were placed many small lamps and inscriptions, analogous to the feast. The same night their marks of public joy were reiterated. Next morning she set out for Cuxhaven; and about ten, her most serene highness embarked on board the yacht, amidst the acclamations of the people, accom-

panied by the duchesses of Ancaster and Hamilton, the earl of Harcourt and lord Anson. She was saluted by the whole squadron destined to convoy her to England. They were ranged on each side of the yacht. The moment she entered her cabin she saluted the officers of the different ships, who had crowded the decks in order to have the pleasure of seeing her, and were all charmed with her affable and polite behaviour.

On the 28th, the fleet, having on board her most serene highness, put to sea, but as no despatches were received from it from that time till its arrival at Harwich, the court was in some concern lest the tediousness of her voyage might affect her health; besides, the day fixed for the coronation of his majesty, by a proclamation issued from the said council, in which his majesty had declared his intentions to demand her serene highness in marriage, was drawing near, his majesty was desirous that the ceremony of the nuptials might precede that of the coronation, so that fresh instructions, it is said, were despatched to the admiral to sail at all events, and to land his charge at any of the ports of Great Britain, where it could be done with safety. At length, after three different storms, and being often in sight of the English coast, and often in danger of being driven on that of Norway, the fleet, with her most serene highness on board, arrived at Harwich, September 6th. Her most serene highness, during her tedious passage, continued in very good health and spirits, often diverting herself with playing on the harpsicord, practising English tunes, and endearing herself to those who were honoured with the care of her person.

As it was night when the fleet arrived at Harwich, her most serene highness slept on board, and continued there till three in the afternoon the next day, during which time her route had been settled, and instructions received as to the manner of her proceeding to St. James's. At her landing, she was received by the mayor and aldermen of Harwich, in their usual formalities. About five o'clock she came to Colchester, and stopped at the house of Mr. Enew, where she was received and waited upon by Mrs. Enew and Mrs. Rebow; but captain Best attended her with coffee, and lieutenant John Seabear with tea. Being thus refreshed, she proceeded to Witham, where she arrived at a quarter past seven, and stopped at lord Abercorn's, and his lordship provided as elegant an entertainment for her as the time would admit. During supper, the door of the room was ordered to stand open, that every body might have the pleasure of seeing her most serene highness; and on each side of her chair stood the lords Harcourt and Anson. She slept that night at his lordship's house: and a little after twelve o'clock next day, her highness came to Rumford, where the king's coach and servants met her; and after stopping to drink coffee at Mr. Dutton's, where the king's servants waited on her, she entered the king's coach. The attendants of her highness were in three other coaches. In the first were some

ladies of Mecklenburgh, and in the last was her serene highness, who sat forward, and the duchesses of Ancaster and Hamilton, backwards.

On the road she was extremely courteous to an incredible number of spectators on horse and foot, gathered on this occasion, showing herself, and bowing to all who seemed desirous of seeing her, and ordering the coach to go extremely slow through the town and villages as she passed, that as many as would might have a full view of her.

Thus they proceeded, at a tolerable pace, to Stratford-le-Bow and Mile-end, where they turned up Dog-row, and prosecuted their journey to Hackney turnpike, then by Shoreditch church, and up Old-street to the City-road, across Islington, along the New-road into Hyde-park, down Constitution-hill into St. James's Park, and then to the garden-gate of the palace, where she was received by all the royal family. She was handed out of the coach by the duke of York, and met in the garden by his majesty, who, in a very affectionate manner, raised her up, and saluted her, as she was going to pay her obeisance, and then led her into the palace, where she dined with his majesty, the princess dowager, and the rest of the royal family, except the two youngest. After dinner, her highness was pleased to show herself with his majesty in the gallery and other apartments fronting the park. About eight o'clock in the evening, the procession to the chapel took place.

The bride, in her nuptial habit, was supported by their royal highnesses the duke of York and prince William; her train borne by ten unmarried daughters of dukes and earls, viz.—lady Sarah Lennox, lady Ann Hamilton, lady Harriet Bentinck, lady Elizabeth Keppel, lady Elizabeth Harcourt, lady Caroline Russel, lady Elizabeth Ker, lady C. Montagu, lady L. Grenville, lady S. Strangways.

The marriage ceremony was performed by the lord archbishop of Canterbury. The duke of Cumberland gave her hand to his majesty, and immediately on the joining their hands, the Park and Tower guns were fired.

Their majesties, after the ceremony, sat on one side of the altar on two state chairs under a canopy: her royal highness the princess dowager of Wales sat facing them on a chair of state on the other, all the rest of the royal family on stools, and all the peers, peeresses, bishops, and foreign ministers (including M. Bussy,) on benches. There was afterwards a public drawing-room, but no persons presented. The houses in the cities of London and Westminster were illuminated, and the evening concluded with the utmost demonstrations of joy.

Her majesty's figure was very pleasing, but her countenance, though not without attraction when she smiled, could not boast any claim to beauty. It was, however, a well known fact, that the king declared himself satisfied with his connubial fortune. She

entered at once upon the royal offices of the drawing-room, with a most becoming grace and easy dignity. It was a singular occurrence, that the first play she saw was the *Rehearsal*, in which Mr. Garrick, in his inimitable representation of the character of *Bayes*, kept the king, the courtiers, and the audience in a continual roar: but which, from the construction of the piece, it was not possible to explain to her majesty.

She was popular when lord Bute's administration had rendered the king very much the reverse. She gave beautiful children to the country. She interested the people of England as a fruitful mother; and was considered with general regard as a domestic woman; so much so, that colonel Barre, then a violent opposition speaker, delivered a very splendid eulogium on her 'mild, tender, and unassuming virtues.'

ART. VIII.—*Letter from Switzerland.*

(From Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine.)

LAUSANNE, AUGUST 25, 1817.

YOU ask me to speak of Madame de Stael. On what other subject could I write to you? During a period of twenty-five years her friendship was the charm of my existence; my opinions and my feelings indeed grew up with her's. Regret for her loss is now all I can offer to her memory, and I have no other consolation but in my recollection of her who is departed.

Madame de Stael was distinguished, even in her childhood, by the brilliancy of her imagination, and the liveliness of her repartees. She learnt or guessed every thing. It was even necessary to restrain her application, which injured her health. Idleness was prescribed for her, but nothing could arrest the progress of a mind like her's, which fed upon itself, and which was even more affected by solitude than by society.

The temper of Madame de Stael was in all respects the opposite of that of her mother; of course there never was much confidence between them. This was unfortunate, as both had greatness of mind enough to comprehend and appreciate each other.

To make up for this, however, Madame de Stael was the delight of her father, who indeed was much more alive than could have been supposed to the influence of natural affection and gracefulness of mind. He delighted in the enthusiastic affection shown him by his daughter; and with her alone he let down the gravity of his manners to bring himself more into unison with her. I have never seen any thing so charming as their intimacy. She was witty, affectionate, and endearing. Years only added to their mutual affection, and death, which alone could separate, has again united them.

Mr. Necker was especially delighted at seeing his daughter unite so much goodness with so much wit; for from infancy she had shown herself noble and distinguished in every thing. To this

even her enemies have borne testimony. While yet in early youth, she was never intimidated by deference to established reputation, from engaging in what she conceived to be the defence of justice or innocence. Thus at the age of eighteen she wrote the *Letters on Rousseau*, because Rousseau was in his grave, and could no longer defend himself.

Nobody ever resented oppression and bad faith with more indignation than Madame de Stael. So pure indeed was her character, that even experience could never habituate her to tolerate the slightest act of injustice. On this account she was generally disposed to range herself on the side opposed to authority, because the abuse of power is more generally on the side of authority than on the other.

She never submitted to bad faith, but when she herself was made the object of it, apparently because the part of the oppressed was not disagreeable to her; neither did she ever notice the satirical effusions to which her works were exposed. This did not proceed from affected disdain (for she was neither insensible to praise nor to censure,) but from a sense of her own dignity.

Her talent for discriminating truth was the most powerful trait in the genius of Madame de Stael. She discerned it, as it were instinctively, with incredible quickness, and it was almost impossible to deceive her. I never saw a man succeed for five minutes in passing himself off before her for a person of greater wit or sensibility than nature had made him. On this account, the best manner to adopt before her was that of truth and nature.

From society she carried this tact into the studies and into the analysis of our age. Indeed to it she owed her success, genius being in reality nothing more than the intuitive perception of truth.

The first time I saw Madame de Stael was in Switzerland, in the year 1793. She had just quitted France, all her friends having abandoned that unfortunate country, or perished in it. She beheld with despair the bloody march of the revolution—of that revolution which she had loved, because it had appeared to be in unison with her character, but the nature of which she had not foreseen: because nobody had been gifted with such extraordinary foresight. She called to remembrance the time when she had seen the revolution commence with such noble enthusiasm, and the day in which the people conducted her father in triumph from Paris to Versailles. Could she be otherwise than seduced by this triumph, the more glorious because not in unison with our customs? Could she see any thing in it but the presage of a happy future for France, since it was her father whom France had charged with its destiny? We must recal these days and these scenes which so many others have effaced, in order to perceive all the interest which Madame de Stael felt for the events of our age.

Soon, however, neither liberty nor triumph were thought of. Life and death were alone the subject of question. Nobody

thought of any thing but the safety of one party and the proscription of another. Every thing between these extremes was of no consequence. The lesser passions were extinguished. Every one was great either in crime or in virtue; and hence it has resulted, that there is still to be observed something more decided in those characters which were formed during the reign of terror than in any others.

Madame de Stael lived retired in Switzerland, surrounded by emigrants some of whom had owed their lives to her care: for she had been so fortunate as to succeed in effecting their escape from France by her proximity to its frontiers. She had contrived to send guides to meet them on whose fidelity she could depend. These guides entered by the passes of the Jura, and going into certain places, were recognised by conventional signs, after which they returned into Switzerland through the woods. Indeed, she laboured to save them with astonishing industry, of which I myself have been a witness, and which I can never forget.

After the emigrants were in safety, Madame de Stael did every thing in her power to lessen the hardships of their condition. If all of them have not been equally grateful, it is not that the weight of the obligation has not been felt, but that gratitude has been stifled by party spirit. She herself had a soul superior to ingratitude. She even pardoned the injustice of which she had been the object, the moment its author was in misfortune. No one suffered more persecution from Bonaparte, and no one judged him with more impartiality. Those whom we have seen so long prostrate before this Colossus, have poured out more maledictions on his tomb than this woman, who suffered ten long years of almost solitary exile, but who, notwithstanding, was able to maintain the dignity of the weak against the oppression of the strong.

Madame de Stael passed the first years of the revolution in her father's house at Coppet. I was then much in their society, where I had the satisfaction of frequently listening to those conversations of which every thing conducive to the happiness of mankind was the general theme.

In these discussions. Madame de Stael had a decided advantage, as her eloquence had no need of any previous reflection. Mr. Necker proceeded more slowly, and his daughter occasionally stopped till he came up with her—and she showed him this filial attention with perfect grace, yet free from all affectation. Mr. Necker would recover his distance, and this mutual exchange of affection and eloquence would frequently last whole hours.

With so much nobleness of mind, Madame de Stael had the merit of never depressing those around her by any intentional display of her own powers. These she employed but to protect the weak, who lived in peace around her. She was formidable to those only who wished to make an ostentatious display of their mediocrity.

After the death of Robespierre, Madame de Stael was enabled to return to France. During some years, however, she divided her time between Paris and Switzerland. Bonaparte at last made himself master of the world, and banished her to the estate of Coppet. Being at this time engaged in travel, I was removed from her for a considerable period. I read, however, the works which she published during the interval. These had increased my desire of again seeing her; for they all expressed the most striking opinions, and developed the social system to which new ages are inviting us.

At last, in the autumn of 1808, I was able to quit Italy and to return to Switzerland. I pursued my journey without stopping, in order the more quickly to reach Coppet. Approaching the hospitable mansion, where the foreigner was ever sure of a kind reception, I was surprised to find the avenue filled with carriages. The abode of the exiled is seldom distinguished by what M. de Chateaubriand would in the present case have called the pomp of exile.

Following the crowd, I arrived at the *chateau* and entered it with a sort of dread at so great an assemblage. I proceeded into the vestibule, looking for some one to announce me, but could find nobody at leisure to do it. One servant was running towards a wing of the house with a casque and a lance—another was calling for help to raise up a pillar which had fallen, and a third, half clad, asked in a theatrical tone for knots of ribbands which he had mislaid.

I soon discovered, without much help from the imagination, that they were preparing for a theatrical representation; and I felt that in the state of matters, I should be hardly noticed, even were I presented, and resolved to profit by the politeness of the servants, who invited me to walk in.

I at last entered the great gallery where the stage was erected, and in which nearly 300 persons, of all nations, were already assembled. These were communicating their conjectures to each other, as to the nature of the performance, in different languages, previous to the rising of the curtain.

I thus learnt that Madame de Stael had written the piece which was about to be performed. This redoubled my curiosity. When the curtain rose, the stage represented an eastern hall, and a group of young Israelites filled the scene. They were preparing for a festival, of which they were practising the dances. In the middle of them I recognised the daughter of Madame de Stael. She was still a child, but of the most perfect beauty and the most charming simplicity.

The play was called *The Shunamite*. The subject, though taken from the Bible, was so handled as at once to avoid profanity and levity. Every thing in it was distinguished by antique and noble simplicity.

Madame de Stael performed the part of the widow of *Shunam*. As happens in the present day, this mother was vain of the talents of her daughter; and, as in the present day, she was aware of the danger of her vanity without endeavouring to conquer it. Her sister, who was of a more humble disposition, blamed that vanity towards which the human heart is so indulgent, but to no purpose; for the Shunamite dwelt ever upon her daughter, and the spectators partook of her delusion.

In order to make a striking example, heaven, which condemns maternal vanity as well as every other, deprived the child of life. We beheld her grow pale in the midst of the festival they were celebrating on her account. The shawl which she held dropped from her hand: her mother pressed her to her heart, but in vain: the eyes of her child were closed for ever.

The young maidens re-appeared in the second act. Arrayed in mourning they surrounded the bier on which their companion was laid. The unfortunate mother reproached heaven with her death, but took no reproach to herself. Neither resigned nor submissive, her grief was that of a woman under the influence of passion. Her sister was engaged in prayer at the foot of the bier, expressing her resignation to the will of heaven.

In the middle of this scene the prophet Elijah entered. Being gifted with the power of working miracles, his presence seemed to inspire even the spectators with confidence.

The prophet showed this impious mother how the anger of heaven had fallen upon her, but that her repentance could disarm it. While thus under the influence of hope, Elijah disclosed to the Shunamite the mystery of the immortality of the soul. This secret is common in our days, and affects us but slightly; but it had been unheard of at the period when the Eternal deigned, for the first time, to reveal it. This unfortunate mother, who conceived her child to be annihilated, learnt that she still existed, and that we can by no means die.

To attest this mystery, Elijah approached the bier. The whole audience looked to the prophet, and the child which he wished to restore to life. We thought we heard her breathe. She raised her hand, then her face, and at last opened her eyelids. She had just begun to live again, and we had been present at one of those great scenes by which our Creator has judged it proper to teach us our destiny. The impression we received from it must have resembled that which they of old had the happiness to experience.

The Shunamite is one of the most remarkable dramatic compositions which has appeared in any language. It belongs to no school, and is neither romantic nor classical. It paints with fidelity the sentiments which our imagination ascribes to the Bible; and that without either overcharging or diminishing them. It awakens in the soul all the religious feelings, without shocking any of them.

After the close of the performance, when the spectators were departing, a singular picture presented itself. A hundred carriages arrived in a line. While waiting for my own, I listened to the remarks of the crowd around me. Many of them were still absorbed in emotion; but the majority had already got rid of it, and were eyeing the bustle which surrounded them. The French exclaimed, 'who could possibly have expected to see such a crowd of company in Switzerland—we really had no idea of it;' the ladies of Lausanne were full of enthusiasm; those of Geneva were complaining of the fatigue they had experienced; and the Germans were so much affected, that it was necessary to support them into their carriages.

This, sir, was one of the many ways in which Madame de Stael beguiled her exile.—Thanks to her courage and her talents, Coppet was at that period an abode altogether unique, and contained such a union of knowledge, wit, and imagination, as we may never hope to witness again.

ART. IX.—*Narrative of the Expedition which sailed from England in 1817, to join the South American Patriots; comprising every Particular connected with its Formation, History, and Fate; with Observations and authentic Information elucidating the Real Character of the Contest, Mode of Warfare, State of the Armies, &c.* By James Hackett, First Lieutenant of the late Venezuela Artillery Brigade. 8vo. pp. 144. Price 5s. 6d. 1818

[From the Eclectic Review.]

THE mind can form to itself the idea of no spectacle more sublime, no attitude of human society more captivating and heroic, than that which Milton, in a burst of eloquence, calls up to the imagination of his readers, in his speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing: 'A noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; as an eagle muing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam; purging and unsealing her long abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance, while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about amazed at what she means.'

The hope, however, of realizing on the grand scale of a national revolution, achievements answering, in an adequate degree, to the poetic conception can hardly have survived, in any sober mind, the fatal result of the recent experiments upon human nature. History, indeed, does tell us of some glorious revolutions; but too often the character of the contest has been that of evil conflicting with evil; and the struggle has been blindly persisted in, till the very elements of the commotion have exhausted themselves, and sunk into a ghastly calm. The immediate issue of the French Revolution was a dreadful disappointment of those romantic hopes which every man of generous feelings could not but indulge; although, eventually, perhaps, it will prove to have been worth twenty years of crime and blood, in order to form a soil in which freedom and re-

ligion may germinate. The result of the late burst of patriotism in Spain, is still more disheartening, as it seems to exhibit a fatal moral incapacity in that enslaved and suffering nation, for any better fate. In South America, we have been led to flatter ourselves, that events of a happier character were being achieved by the transatlantic subjects of the imbecile Ferdinand. In their cause, every one deserving of the name of Briton must feel the liveliest interest; no one can dispute 'its abstract justice,' nor is there much more room to doubt its eventual success. But when we come to inspect more narrowly the features of the contest, the imagination finds little indeed of a nature adapted to sustain the feeling of exultation, or even of complacency. Without laying too much stress on the information or opinions of the unfortunate hero of this disastrous narrative, we believe that there is no room to doubt that it is one in which it would be next to impossible for the subjects of a civilized country to take part: population formerly distributed into tyrants and slaves, now amalgamated into one moving horde of undisciplined warriors, the hitherto indelible distinctions of white and black complexion being almost superseded, together with the customs and moral restraints of civilized life,—such a population, especially when we consider that the basis of its character is, at best, nothing better than the Indian or the South American Spaniard, may well be conceived to present no great attractions to an European, how fond soever he might be of armies and campaigns. But when to complete the picture it is added, that the principle on which the warfare is carried on, is that of the most unsparing and ferocious extermination, 'each side being so infuriated against the other by a long train of barbarities and cold blooded slaughter as to render it almost necessary for those who actually engage in the struggle to divest their minds of every feeling of humanity, and prepare themselves to be not only witnesses of, but participators in, acts of the most revolting and indiscriminate brutality,' the mind sickens with dismay at the hopeless prospect for the interests of humanity, which seems to await alike the success or the failure of the enterprise. A dreadful retributive dispensation seems to be now carrying on by the mutual agency of the hostile parties; and our Author throws out the idea of a catastrophe still more fatal to the usurpers of the new world, as the possible result of the termination of the present contest. A common feeling of hostility against the common enemy, has suspended the sentiments of jealous enmity with which hitherto the Indian and the Spanish natives have regarded each other; but should their combined strength prove victorious, the contest, it is feared, might immediately assume another character; the freed slaves will have acquired the strength and the confidence of Independence, and with the example of St. Domingo before them, may aspire to the reassertion of their ancient rights as the original lords of the soil. South America may

thus become the seat of hostility between its white and black population.'

The following is the picture which Mr. Hackett draws, of the state of the Independent armies, on the authority of several officers who had just *escaped* from the Patriot service, and who arrived at St. Bartholomew's, while he was still on board the *Britannia*.

'The Independent armies march in hordes, without order or discipline; their baggage consisting of little more than the scanty covering on their backs. They are totally destitute of tents, and in their encampments observe neither regularity nor system. The commanding officers are generally mounted, and likewise such of the others as are able to provide themselves with horses or mules, the latter of which are in great plenty. The exterminating principle upon which the war is carried on between the contending parties, render their campaigns bloody and destructive; desolation marks the progress of those hostile bands, to whose inveterate enmities the innocent and unoffending inhabitants are equally the victims, with those actually opposed to them in military strife. In action the Independents display much bravery and determination, and frequently prove successful, notwithstanding their want of discipline, deficiency of arms, and disorderly manner of attack and defence. Unhappily the work of death terminates not with the battle, for on whatsoever side victory rests, the events which immediately succeed those sanguinary struggles are such as must cast an indelible stain upon the Spanish American Revolution.

'The engagement is scarcely ended, when an indiscriminate massacre of the prisoners takes place; nor is the slaughter only confined to the captives, the field also undergoes an inspection, when the helpless wounded are in like manner put to the sword.

'The following instance of vindictive cruelty on the royalist side, was related to me by an officer who was present in the engagement in which the transaction originated. In this action a young French officer, in the service of the Independents, had his arm severed from his shoulder by a sabre cut, and being unable to sustain himself from loss of blood, he sunk to the ground. His distinguished bravery had however previously been observed by his companions, who succeeded in bearing him off the field, from whence they conveyed him into the woods, and sheltered him in a negro hut; where having applied such balsams as could be procured they departed. The armies retired to other parts of the country, and the officer was fast recovering from the effects of his wound, when general Morillo, advancing upon the same rout, discovered his retreat and had him instantly put to death.

'Such was the barbarous system pursued by the belligerent parties; although I must in justice observe, that I have always understood the exercise of these cruelties originated with the Royalists, and were subsequently resorted to by the Independents on principles of retaliation. Hence the system became reciprocal, passed into a general law, and has now, it is to be feared, become unalterable.

'The sufferings which the Independents undergo during their campaigns, from the difficulty of procuring food, are most severe; mule's flesh, wild fruits, and some dried corn, which they carry loose in their pockets, frequently constituting the whole of their subsistence: and we are confidently assured, that the army under general Bolivar has even often been for days together dependent for support, solely upon the latter description of provisions and water. Pay was now totally unknown to them, in consequence of the utter exhaustion of their resources; and, however successful they might eventually be, there existed no probability whatever, that they would even then possess the means of affording pecuniary compensation to those who may have participated in the struggle.*' pp. 54—58.

Their clothing of course corresponds to their fare, consisting, we are told, in most instances, of 'fragments of coarse cloth, wrapped round their bodies,' while pieces of raw buffalo hide laced over their feet, form a substitute for shoes: these, when hardened by the sun's heat, they again render pliant by immersion in the first stream at which they chance to arrive.

'A blanket, with a hole cut in the middle, let over the head, and tightened round the body by a buffalo thong, has been frequently the dress of the officers; and one of them who witnessed the fact, assured me, that such was actually the *uniform* of a British colonel (R——) who was at that time in the Independent service. Whilst these gentlemen thus described the patriot habiliments, they commented in the strongest language on the impolicy and imprudence of proceeding to serve in conjunction with an army barefooted and in rags, provided with such splendid uniforms as we had been obliged to procure; and ridiculed the strange contrast which our dresses and those of the Patriots would exhibit in the field; observing, that such clothes would be alone sufficient to excite the jealousy of the natives, to whose eagerness for their possession, we should almost inevitably become a sacrifice.' pp. 53—54.

The Patriots, it is stated on apparently good authority, are decidedly averse to foreign assistance. Arms and ammunition are

* 'The sanguinary and ferocious character of the warfare,' says our Author, in a subsequent paragraph, 'which has reflected lasting disgrace on the contending parties on the Continent of South America, also governs the proceedings of the hostile navies; indiscriminate destruction of prisoners, is most generally accomplished by compelling the ill-fated captives, to pass through the ceremony which is technically called *Walking the Plank*. For this purpose, a plank is made fast on the gang-way of the ship, with one end projecting some feet beyond the side; the wretched victims are then forced, in succession, to proceed along the fatal board, and precipitate themselves from its extremity into the ocean; whilst those who instinctively cling to life, hesitate prompt obedience to the brutal mandate, are soon compelled at the point of a spear to resign themselves to a watery grave, to avoid the aggravated cruelties of their inhuman conquerors.

'The Independents, who (as has been before observed) impute the origin of this barbarous mode of warfare to the Royalists, resort for their justification in adopting a similar course of proceeding, to the necessity of retaliation.' pp. 120—121.

all that they are desirous of obtaining from us. The introduction of British officers, particularly, it is added, 'had already excited greater jealousy and dissension among the native troops, than their most zealous exertions could possibly make amends for, and to so violent a pitch had their jealous feelings carried them, as to subject foreigners, attached to the patriot service, to perpetual hazard of assassination.'

'Their obstinate hostility to the admission of foreign aid, can in a great measure be accounted for, from a confidence in their own numerical strength, and the obvious weakness of the mother country. They encourage a probably well-grounded conviction, that, however the contest may be protracted, success must ultimately attach itself to their party; and an anxiety to enjoy the entire fruits of their triumph, has created this aversion to the admission of foreigners, whose services, they cannot but know, are proffered rather from motives of personal aggrandizement, than any particular solicitude for the emancipation of South America.' pp. 64—65.

Such were the views which determined our Author to relinquish the project in which he had been, by the most infamous deception, seduced to engage, as 'First Lieutenant of the late Venezuela Artillery Brigade,' which brigade was disbanded by the Colonel, off Grenada, before it had reached the Spanish Main. The conditions upon which he entered, and which were duly sanctioned and guaranteed by Don Mendez, the *accredited agent* of the Independents in London, were the following.

'1st. That on arriving in South America I should retain the rank to which he, Colonel Gilmore, had appointed me. 2dly. That I should from thence receive the full pay and allowances enjoyed by officers of similar rank in the British service. 3dly. That the expenses of outfit (with the exception of the passage to the Spanish Main) should be, in the first instance borne by myself; but, 4thly: That I should, immediately on my arriving in South America, receive the sum of two hundred dollars, towards defraying these expenses.'

One is at a loss to conceive what possible inducement this *mendacious* Don could have, for the conduct attributed to him; unless, (which is not stated) he has been carrying on a trade in Patriotic Commissions, and charges high for the appointments he sells. In that case, lenient as our laws are to gentlemen of the profession of swindlers, we should yet imagine that a check might long ago have been given to his '*levees*.' It is upon this 'gentleman' exclusively, according to *Lieutenant* Hackett, that the 'responsibility must rest, of having excited hopes which he must have known would never be realized; of having guaranteed the performance of conditions, the fulfilment whereof he must have been aware was impracticable; and of having induced those desirous of embarking in this destructive enterprise, to believe that their services would be joyfully and gratefully accepted by the Independent Generals and their Armies; whilst he, at the same time, could scarcely have

been ignorant, that the strongest hostility was manifested by the Patriots to the admission of foreign assistance; and that the jealousy of the native troops of those few British officers who had been tempted actually to join their armies was so rancorous, as to subject them to the perpetual hazard of assassination.' pp. vii, viii.

Not fewer than five distinct corps embarked at nearly the same period, on the same delusive enterprise.

' 1st. A Brigade of Artillery under the command of Colonel J. A. Gilmore, consisting of five light six-pounders, and one five-and-half-inch-howitzer, ten officers and about eighty non-commissioned officers and men. This corps embarked on board the *Britannia*, a fine ship of about four hundred tons burden, commanded by captain Sharpe, with a crew of twenty-one able and well conducted seamen. An immense quantity of every description of military stores had been stowed on board this vessel, comprising arms, ammunition, clothing, wagons, and, in fact, every requisite for enabling the brigade to enter upon active service immediately on arriving at its place of destination.

' The uniforms and equipments of the officers were extremely rich, very similar to those of the British Artillery, and provided altogether at the expense of the individuals who had accepted commissions in this ill-fated expedition. The equipments of the other corps were likewise in every respect extensive and complete, and the uniforms remarkably rich and costly, more especially in the regiment commanded by Colonel Wilson, one of whose officers informed me that his outfit amounted to upwards of two hundred guineas.

' 2d. A corps of hussars (called the First Venezuelan Hussars) under the command of colonel Hippley, consisting of about thirty officers, and one hundred and sixty non-commissioned officers and men; uniform, dark green, faced with red. This corps embarked on board the *Emerald*, a beautiful ship of about five hundred tons, commanded by captain Weatherly, with a crew of upwards of thirty men and boys.

' 3d. A regiment of cavalry (called the Red Hussars) under the command of colonel Wilson, consisting of about twenty officers and one hundred non-commissioned officers and men. Uniform—full-dress, red and gold; undress, blue and gold. This corps proceeded in the *Prince*, a vessel of about four hundred tons burden, commanded by captain Nightingale.

' 4th. A rifle corps (named the First Venezuelan Rifle Regiment) commanded by colonel Campbell, consisting of about thirty-seven officers, and nearly two hundred non-commissioned officers and men. Uniform, similar to that of the Rifle Brigade in the British service. This corps embarked on board the *Dowson*, captain Dormor, a fine ship about the size of the *Britannia*.

' 5th. A corps of Lancers, under the command of colonel Skeene, comprising, in officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, about two hundred and twenty men; who embarked on board the unfortunate ship *Indian*, and the whole of whom, together with

the crew, perished miserably at sea, being wrecked on the island of Ushant shortly after their departure from England.

‘ These several corps sailed from England at nearly the same time, with the intention of acting conjointly on arriving in South America, and having previous to their departure appointed the island of Saint Bartholomew and Saint Thomas, as places of general rendezvous, for the purpose of ascertaining the state of affairs on the Spanish Main, and determining the point at which it would be most judicious the disembarkation should take place.’ pp. xii-xv.

We must now give a hasty outline of Mr. Hackett's narrative. The *Britannia* sailed on the 3d of Dec. 1817. On the 24th of Jan. she sailed into the harbour of Gustavia, in St. Bartholomew's, where the *Prince* and the *Emerald* had already arrived. Here they remained upwards of three weeks, without receiving any intelligence from the Spanish Main, on the veracity of which they could place the slightest reliance. A general feeling of dissatisfaction and uneasiness soon manifested itself, as the consequence of this painful state of suspense, and their situation was rendered still more critical by the spirit of dissension and jealousy which first began to actuate the officers commanding the respective corps, and at length extended among the subordinate officers, destroying all exertions for the common cause. On the 21st of February, after many ineffectual efforts to obtain direct intelligence from the Continent, the three ships (the *Britannia*, the *Prince*, and the *Dowson*,) sailed from St. Bartholomew's, and arrived at Grenada, on the Friday following. The account of the state of the Patriot armies given by Mr. Guthrie, the Independent agent resident at this island, coincided so minutely with that furnished by Mr. Molony, the agent at St. Thomas's, that the supercargo at once determined against proceeding with the stores to the Main. The situation in which colonel Gilmore was by this means placed, was, in his view, so irrecoverably desperate, as to leave him no alternative but disbanding the brigade.

‘ Our condition now may be readily conceived: deprived of the support of our colonel, destitute of resources and friends, and unable to devise any means of extrication from our difficulties, we saw ourselves threatened with all the horrors of privation and want. Of the men comprising our late brigade, some joined the other ships, others enlisted in the Queen's Regiment, at this time garrisoned in Grenada, whilst a few determined on endeavouring to work their passage to the United States; the various artificers were put ashore at the same period. The printer, having been permitted to carry with him a portion of the types and printing apparatus, fortunately procured a situation in the newspaper office. The armourer afterwards returned to Saint Bartholomew's with the intention of proceeding to New Orleans. The fate of the remainder I never learned, but fear their distresses must have been great, as they appeared totally destitute of money, and were consequently dependent for their subsistence on the manual exercise of their respective arts.

'Some of the officers succeeded in providing for themselves, either through their own resources, or pecuniary aid from friends; the remainder, including captain — and myself, were still permitted to continue on board the *Britannia*.'

On the supercargo's resolving at length to proceed to Port au Prince, in the hope of being enabled there to dispose of the artillery and military stores, the remaining officers and men were put on shore, friendless, and destitute. Poor lieutenant Hackett, however, obtained from the merchant to whom the *Britannia* had been consigned, the use of a ruinous waste room in one of his outhouses, of which he 'gladly accepted.' Having converted into cash every article of property he could possibly dispose of, his thoughts were now wholly occupied with forming plans for returning to Europe. At length he was informed, that an English merchant vessel, (the *Hornby*) which had been taken possession of by the admiral stationed off St. Kitts, (in consequence of having, together with several others, become subject to seizure,) was destined to return to Europe 'in ballast.' He accordingly took a final leave of St. Bartholomew's, on the 3d of April, resolving, with some others of the unfortunate adventurers, to offer his services to the captain, to work his passage home on board his ship, as a common seaman. This proposal was, after some deliberation, acceded to, and 'those only,' he says, who have been similarly situated, can conceive of the happiness we now experienced, and the delight with which we on the following day availed ourselves of captain W.'s permission to repair on board.' The *Hornby* being almost destitute of hands, was detained nearly three weeks at St. Kitt's after this arrangement, which allowed of Mr. Hackett's procuring intelligence of the proceedings of several of the vessels and officers attached to the South American enterprise, subsequently to his leaving the *Britannia*. The *Emerald* was purchased by admiral Biron for the Independent service, and converted, under the name of the *Victory*, into his flag ship, manned by British seamen, about seventy of whom he succeeded in procuring from the West India Islands. The *Britannia* and the *Dowson*, after depositing their stores with merchants in St. Bartholomew's, being unable otherwise to dispose of them, took in sugar freights on their passage home. Of colonel Gilmore's brigade, none ever actually landed on the continent, with the exception of two officers, and about fifteen or twenty men, who joined colonel Wilson's corps. This corps, though much reduced in numbers, finally proceeded for Bolivar's head quarters at the Oroonoco. The main body of captain Hipplesley's regiment likewise sailed for the same destination. Of their subsequent proceedings or fate, no information reached Mr. H. Colonel Campbell's corps, originally the most effective, became reduced by fever and resignation, to ten officers and a proportionate number of men, which small remnant intended also to proceed to Angustura. As for our poor ex-lieutenant, he soon acquired an intimacy with the haul-yard, and after a favourable passage, arrived on the 16th of June in Ports-

mouth harbour, when he and his captain parted, with mutual feelings of friendship and regard. In conclusion, he disclaims any hostile feeling towards the cause of the Independents. 'That cause,' he remarks, 'must stand or fall upon its own insulated merits: confident in its abstract justice, I heartily wish its speedy and perfect success,—but without the sacrifice of British blood, or the compromise of British honour.'

ART. X.—*The Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds, &c.* By James Northcote, Esq. R. A. The second edition, revised and corrected. London, 1818. 8vo. 2 vols.

[From the London Literary Gazette.]

THE words 'second edition,' in a work of this kind, are so presumptive of public opinion, that we hold ourselves absolved from the task of critical remark. Nor should we have taken up this publication for notice at all, had it not offered sufficient novelty and attraction in its *additions*, to warrant our transferring a few of them to our pages, where, if they appear to our readers as they do to us, they will be thought amusing, interesting, and instructive.

Mr. Northcote is full of pleasing anecdote, and if occasionally a familiar story creep in, it may readily be excused on the ground alleged by the author, viz. that he wished his picture to be complete, and could not therefore reject incidents, merely because they had been presented before. We shall select a few of these little characteristic traits.

'Portraits, in the time of Hudson, (Sir Joshua's master) were almost always in one attitude; one hand hid in the waistcoat, and the hat under the arm. But one gentleman, whose portrait young Reynolds painted, desired to have his hat on his head, in the picture, which was quickly finished, in a common-place attitude, done without much study, and sent home; where, on inspection, it was soon discovered, that although this gentleman, in his portrait, had one hat upon his head, yet there was another under his arm!'

From the second portrait which Reynolds painted in the metropolis, that of William, second duke of Devonshire, a print was taken in mezzotinto, and it is said to be the first print ever taken from any of his works. [Above seven hundred were afterwards produced.]

'At a venison feast, Reynolds addressed his conversation to one of the company who sat next to him, but to his great surprise could not get a single word in answer, until at length his silent neighbour, turning to him, said, "Mr. Reynolds, whenever you are at a venison feast, I advise you not to speak during dinner time, as in endeavouring to answer your questions, I have just swallowed a fine piece of the fat, entire, without tasting its flavour."

There is only one marble bust of Sir Joshua, executed by Cirachi, an Italian sculptor. This Cirachi was a young man of some

ability, but of a turbulent spirit, and had been driven from every country which he had visited. When he left England, he went to France, where he soon got himself guillotined for being concerned in a conspiracy formed against the life of Bonaparte, by means of a horrid contrivance which the French named the infernal machine.

‘One day when Lord Mansfield was sitting, Sir Joshua asked him his opinion, if he thought it was a likeness;—when his lordship replied, that it was totally out of his power to judge of its degree of resemblance, as he had not seen his own face in any looking-glass, during the last thirty years of his life; for his servant always dressed him, and put on his wig, which therefore rendered it quite unnecessary for him to look at himself in a mirror.’

‘A clergyman, a friend of Mr. Opie’s, declared to him that he once delivered one of Sir Joshua’s discourses, from the pulpit, as a sermon, with no other alteration but in such words as made it applicable to *morals* instead of the *fine arts*: which (says the relater) is a proof of the depth of his reasoning, and of its foundation being formed on the principles of general nature.

To the foregoing (he continues) I take the liberty to add some lines by the well known Peter Pindar, and which have never before appeared in print:

ADVICE TO YOUNG PAINTERS.

Study Sir Joshua’s works, young men;—

Not pictures only, but his pen:

Who, when Cimmerian darkness whelm’d our isle,

Appear’d a comet in his art;—

Bid nature from the canvas start,

And with the Graces bade that canvas smile.

Could Titian from his tomb arise,

And cast on Reynolds’ art his eyes,

How would he heave of jealousy the groan!

Here possibly I may mistake;

As Titian probably might take

The works of our great master for his own.

‘When Barry first showed some dilatoriness in preparing for his lectures as professor of painting, Sir Joshua made some remarks upon his conduct, to which Barry retorted with great insolence and brutality, saying, “If I had no more to do in the composition of my lectures than to produce such poor flimsy stuff as your discourses, I should soon have done my work, and be prepared to read.”—Sir Joshua used to say, that as many of Barry’s discoveries were new to himself, so he thought they were new to every body else.’

‘One evening, at the Artists’ Club, held at the Turk’s Head, in Gerrard street, Sir Joshua came into the room, having just before seen a very fine landscape, painted by Gainsborough, with which he had been exceedingly struck, from its extraordinary merit. He was describing its beauties to the members of the club then present, and finished his eulogium by saying, “Gainsborough is certainly the first landscape painter now in Europe;” when the

famous Richard Wilson, the landscape-painter, who was one of the auditors of this high commendation, and who, from an excusable jealousy, felt himself offended, after begging leave to add also to this high character given of Gainsborough, said, "Well, Sir Joshua, and it is my opinion that he is also the greatest portrait-painter at this time in Europe." Sir Joshua felt the rebuke, and immediately apologized for his inattention in making the observation in Wilson's company.'

But it is not with entertaining anecdotes alone that we have found ourselves gratified in perusing the new passages in these volumes (which additions are also published in the form of an Appendix, in 4to. to the first edition;) there are many observations on painting, and other subjects, conveying intelligence to the general reader and instruction to the artist. The following extract affords a contrast, as far as it goes, and we wish it went further, much in favour of the present state of the arts in England:—

'It was not long after the arrival of Mr. West in this country, from his studies in Italy, that he displayed his powers in historical painting in a most excellent picture; the subject of which was that of Pylades and Orestes, one of his very best works. As any attempt in history was, at that period, an almost unexampled effort, this picture became a matter of much surprise: his house was soon filled with visitors from all quarters to see it; and those among the highest rank; who were not able to come to his house to satisfy their curiosity, desired his permission to have it sent to them, nor did they fail every time it was returned to him, to accompany it with compliments of the highest commendation on its great merits. But the most wonderful part of the story is, that notwithstanding all this vast bustle and commendation bestowed upon this justly admired picture, by which Mr. West's servant gained upwards of thirty pounds for showing it, yet no one mortal ever asked the price of the work, or so much as offered to give him a commission to paint any other subject. Indeed there was one gentleman so highly delighted with the picture, and spoke of it with such great praise to his father, that he immediately asked him the reason he did not purchase, as he so much admired it, when he answered—"What could I do, if I had it? you would not surely have me hang up a modern English picture in my house, unless it was a portrait."'

Mr. West, in our time, sold his *Christ Healing the Sick* to the British Institution, for 5000*l.* and was offered 10,000*l.* for his *Death on the Pale Horse*; which the public crowd to see, and we should suppose that the amount paid for admission, at a shilling for each individual, exceeds (when the town is full) 30*l.* per diem!! Such is the difference in half a century. The origin of another alteration, not perhaps so favourable to the arts, as it regards the permanency of colours, is thus described:

'It was of advantage to the old school of Italian painters, that they were under the necessity of making most of their colours

themselves, or at least under the inspection of such as possessed chymical knowledge, which excluded all possibility of those adulterations to which the moderns are exposed. The same also was the case in England, till the time of Sir Godfrey Kneller, who, when he came to this country, brought over a servant with him, whose sole employment was to prepare all his colours and materials for his work. Kneller afterwards set him up as a colour-maker for artists; and this man's success, he being the first that kept a colour-shop in London, occasioned the practice of it as a trade.

'Sir Joshua was ever careful about procuring unadulterated articles of every sort, and has often desired me to inform the colour-man, that he should not regard any price that might be demanded, provided the colours were genuine.

'In his investigations also into the secrets used by the old painters, he was indefatigable. I remember once in particular, a fine picture of Parmegiano, that I bought by his order at a sale; which he rubbed and scoured down to the very pannel on which it had been painted, so that at last nothing remained of the picture. Speaking to him of the extraordinary merits of Titian, I asked him, if he thought there ever would be in the world a superior in portrait-painting? he answered, that he believed there never would—that, to procure a real fine picture by Titian, he would be content to sell every thing he possessed in the world, to raise the money for its purchase; adding, with emphasis, "I would be content to ruin myself."'

From a multitude of MS. memoranda kept by Sir Joshua when at Rome, and afterwards, we select a few specimens:

'All games of recreation are an imitation of enmity.

'The younger pupils are best taught by those who are in a small degree advanced in knowledge above themselves, and from that cause proceeds the peculiar advantage of studying in academies. [This is the principle upon which the improvement in modern education has been founded.]

'Genius begins where rules end.

'Real greatness is that which presents less by far to the sense than to the imagination.

'The very foundation of the art of painting is invention; he who most excels in that high quality, must be allowed to be the greatest painter, in what degree soever he may be surpassed by others in the more inferior branches of the art.

'Never give the least touch with your pencil till you have present in your mind a perfect idea of your future work.

'A fine tragedy, in the reading, is like a fine drawing by a great master; but when exhibited on the stage, seems as if it had been coloured by a vulgar hand to make it appear natural.

'A man subject to anger, is, beyond all comparison, to be preferred to him who is never angry.

'The fine arts (particularly painting) are as mirrors reflecting the charms of nature, which few are capable of seeing in nature herself.

‘ Bashfulness denotes strong sensibility, and seems to waver betwixt pride and humility.

‘ Dress is a strong indication of the moral character.

‘ Benefits strengthen the ties of virtuous friendship; but, where there is a deficiency of virtue, generally have a contrary effect.’

With this aphorism, which displays an intimate acquaintance with human nature, we conclude; and merely subjoin two curious facts, the diffusion of the latter of which we hope may elicit the production of its subject.

The only two pictures which Sir Joshua ever marked with his name are those of Mrs. Siddons as the Tragic Muse, and of Mrs. Cockburn and her three children. He wrote it on the embroidered edge of their garments in both instances.

Oliver Goldsmith once read to a lady several chapters of a novel in MS. which he did not live to finish, now irrecoverably lost. The same lady, Mr. Northcote informs us, has some of his poetry never yet published.

ART. XI.—*Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia, for Promoting Useful Knowledge. Vol. 1. Philadelphia, 1819. pp. 414.*

THE want of an Historical Society had long been acknowledged and lamented in Pennsylvania, without any steps being taken towards supplying the deficiency, until that highly useful and respectable association, the ‘American Philosophical Society,’ by their resolve of March 17th, 1815, added a new committee to the six previously existing,* under the denomination of ‘the Committee of History, Moral Science and General Literature.’

This committee being unlimited in number, and every member of the society having a right to enroll himself upon the list, a new society was thus in effect established, whose objects were designated to be, ‘to form a collection of original documents, such as official and private letters, Indian treatises, ancient records, ancient maps, and such other papers as may be calculated to throw light on the history of the United States, but more particularly of this State, to be preserved among the archives of this society for the public benefit.’ And further; ‘to take such measures as to them seem most proper for the purpose of obtaining from able and intelligent persons in the United States, but more particularly in this State, correct information on matters connected with the history, geography, topography, antiquities, and statistics of this country.’

- * Those of
1. Geography, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy and Astronomy.
 2. Medicine and Anatomy.
 3. Natural History and Chymistry.
 4. Trade and Commerce.
 5. Mechanics and Architecture.
 6. Husbandry and American Improvements.

The committee immediately entered upon the performance of their new duties, and on the 15th of August, 1815, published a '*Literary Notice*,' explaining the nature of their institution, and soliciting the aid of men of information, throughout the Union, and more particularly in this State.

This invitation was not, however, attended with the anticipated success; the call had been too general, and individuals did not come forward in compliance with it. A different system soon after adopted, produced happier results. They opened an extensive correspondence with gentlemen not only in Pennsylvania, but in other parts of the United States, selecting those whom they thought most likely to second their views; and so successful were their applications, that in their report made to the society on the 9th of January, 1818, they had the pleasure to give the following very satisfactory account of their labours and their prospects.

'The genuine friends of literature and science, those in whom the love of knowledge is a predominant passion, and who have sufficient leisure to devote a considerable part of their time to its acquisition and advancement, are not very common in any country. It cannot, therefore, be a matter of astonishment, that they should not yet be very numerous in these States, where society has so many calls for the exertions of its members in the more indispensable employments of human life. Your committee, however, have great pleasure in being able to assure the society, that they have found a considerable number of their fellow citizens able and willing to aid in the promotion of their objects, and from whom they have, in fact, derived very important assistance.

'Among those enlightened and truly patriotic citizens, they beg leave, in the first place, to name the late president of this society, Thomas Jefferson. From the first establishment of this committee, he was pleased to honour us with his valuable correspondence, and has spared no exertions to forward the objects of our institution. To him we are indebted for many important MSS. documents, calculated to throw light on the history of our country, on the customs, manners, and languages of the Indian nations, and various other interesting national subjects. He has lately directed to be placed in our hands several as yet unedited MSS. volumes of scientific notes and observations by Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, made in the course of their journey to the Pacific ocean. The names of the authors of these volumes, sufficiently vouch for the interest of the matter which they contain.

'Next to this venerable patron of science, your committee find themselves in duty bound to mention as one of their most zealous as well as useful friends and supporters, doctor George Logan, of Stenton. He has opened to them the treasures of his family archives, which contain a great number of interesting documents relating to the early periods of the colony of Pennsylvania. Among these, not the least valuable, is the familiar correspondence which was carried on for many years between our illustrious founder, William Penn, Hannah Penn, his interesting wife, and James Lo-

gan, the doctor's grandfather, who, it is well known, was the proprietor's confidential friend and secretary. A lady of the doctor's family, eminently qualified for the task, has undertaken to arrange those letters in a regular order, and has already communicated to your committee the first MS. volume of the collection, which she has enriched with notes and with introductory matter of much interest. The remainder is in a course of preparation, and when the whole collection is thus completed, it will (if your committee can obtain her permission to publish it,) exhibit in a more satisfactory manner than has yet been done, the private character, manners, and habits of the legislator of Pennsylvania, as well as the political line of conduct which he pursued in his government. It will also make us more intimately acquainted with his faithful friend and counsellor, James Logan, of whose classical turn of mind and literary attainments, the library which bears his name, and which he generously gave to the city of Philadelphia, affords sufficient testimony.

'Nor should your committee omit paying the tribute of their thanks to our worthy associate, the Rev. John Heckewelder, of Bethlehem. The intimate knowledge which this respectable missionary is known to possess of the languages and manners of various Indian nations, among whom he resided more than forty years, pointed him out to us as a person from whom much information could be obtained; nor were our hopes deceived. In answer to the inquiries of your committee, he laid open the stores of his knowledge, and his correspondence gives us a clear insight into that wonderful organization which distinguishes the languages of the aborigines of this country from all the other idioms* of the known world. Through his means your committee obtained the communication of a MS. grammar of that of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians, written in German, by the late Rev. David Zeisberger, well known as the author of a copious vocabulary of the same language. This is the most complete grammar that we have ever seen of any one of those languages which are called *barbarous*. It gives a full, and we believe, an accurate view of those comprehensive grammatical forms which appear to prevail with little variation among the aboriginal natives of America, from Greenland to Cape Horn, and shows how little the world has yet advanced in that science which is proudly called *Universal Grammar*. Through the same means, we are promised the communication of an excellent Dictionary, by the same author, of the Iroquois language, explained in German, which is in the library of the Moravian brethren at Bethlehem. Your committee have procured a translation of Mr. Zeisberger's grammar into English, and will endeavour to do the same with the Dictionary when received.

'Mr. Heckewelder, at the request of your committee, is now engaged in committing to writing the observations which he made

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in the course of a long life, on the manners and customs of the Indians. To him and Mr. Jefferson, we are also indebted for a considerable number of vocabularies of the languages of various Indian nations, particularly of those of the southern tribes, hitherto but little known, of which your committee intend to make a proper use in due time.

‘ Mr. Redmond Coningham, a member of the legislature of this state, has testified his zeal for the advancement of knowledge, by procuring for your committee, with much labour and some expense, from the office of the secretary of state at Harrisburgh, copies and extracts of the most interesting records of the executive branch of the government, anterior to the period of the American revolution, which will be of great use to the future historian of this commonwealth.

‘ Your committee would have to trespass too long on the attention of the society, were they to attempt to do justice to all those who have contributed their liberal aid to the promotion of their endeavours; they cannot, however, avoid mentioning our associates, Messrs. William Rawle, and Joseph P. Norris, from whom they have received several curious and interesting MSS. documents relative to the early history of this state. From John D. Coxe, Joseph Reed, and James Robertson, Esqs. and the Rev. Dr. William Rogers, all of this city, they have to acknowledge the receipt of a great many scarce books and pamphlets, which are indispensably necessary for a correct knowledge of the history of that period. Mr. William Graham, of Chester, has presented us with a complete set of the journals of the general assembly of Pennsylvania, from the first settlement of the colony down to the revolution, now become very scarce. The numerous donations of historical and statistical works which, within the last two years, have been made to the society, attest the exertions of your committee, and the zeal and liberality of its friends.

‘ Your committee are continuing to pursue the same course with unabated ardour. They are gradually extending their correspondence, indulging and soliciting the utmost freedom of literary intercourse, by which means, as they increase their own stock of knowledge, they hope to contribute to keeping up that laudable spirit of inquiry and research, which the observing eye cannot but perceive to be increasing in our country.

‘ Your committee are well aware that they are sowing seeds which cannot be expected to produce immediate fruits. Yet they cannot resist the pleasing hope, that in consequence of their unremitting exertions, from the bosom of this society may arise future historians, and other literary characters, who will one day do honour to the land that gave them birth.

‘ To facilitate the labours of such men, your committee intend to avail themselves of the permission which the society has given them, of publishing, from time to time, under their own responsibility, selections from the materials which they have on hand, and

may hereafter obtain. The praise of zeal and industry is all to which they can aspire; it will be the task of genius to prove hereafter to the world, that their labours have not been entirely useless. With this flattering expectation, they feel supported and encouraged to go on with the performance of the duty assigned to them.'

Next follows, in the volume before us, a *report* from Mr. Duponceau, the corresponding secretary of the committee, read January 12th, 1819; in which that gentleman, whose extensive acquirements, and zealous pursuit of knowledge, are equally admirable, develops 'his progress in the investigation committed to him of the general character and forms of the languages of the American Indians.'

In imposing on him a task so difficult and laborious, a task, indeed, requiring a perseverance of inquiry, which nothing but the most ardent love of learning could support; and calling for the clearest discrimination in the admission of facts, and the soundest judgment in drawing the inferences from them, the committee paid to Mr. Duponceau a most unqualified, but probably a most burdensome compliment. Few individuals could have been found with inclination for such an undertaking. And certainly none could have been selected more remarkably qualified by great learning, superior talents, and uncommon taste for philological pursuits.

Accordingly the *report* is replete with curious and valuable information, collected by the most indefatigable research.

'In this investigation of facts,' says the secretary, in the course of his observations, 'I have not drawn my information indiscriminately from every source, otherwise I should very soon have been lost in a labyrinth of contradictions. I left no book or manuscript unconsulted that came within my reach; but I examined the assertions of each writer with a critical eye, fully determined in no case to swear on the word of a master. I tried to discover the sources from which my authors had derived their knowledge; the opportunities which they had of acquiring it; the time which they had spent among the Indians, or in the study of their languages; the degree of attention which they had bestowed upon it, and the powers of mind by which they had been enabled to take a just and an accurate view of their subject. Finally, I rejected every thing that came in the shape of mere assertion, and paid attention only to those specimens of the different idioms in which their grammatical structure was sufficiently exhibited. I found more of these than I had at first expected, and was enabled by their means to take that wide range of observation, which alone could serve the purpose I had in view.'

'I have derived no little aid from that excellent work ably commenced by the late professor Adelung,* and no less ably continued by our learned associate, professor Vater, and another Adelung,†

* Author of the great German Dictionary and other celebrated literary works.

† The honourable Frederick Adelung, of St. Petersburg, counsellor of state, member of the imperial Russian academy, and of this society. He is the nephew and worthy successor of the great Adelung.

not inferior to his predecessor. I mean the *Mithridates*;* which I do not hesitate to call the most astonishing philological collection that the world has ever seen. It contains an epitome of all the existing knowledge of the ancient and modern languages of the whole earth. It exhibits specimens of the words of each language, by means of which their affinities can be traced as far as etymology may help to discover them, with a delineation of their forms, syntax, construction, and general grammatical character, exemplified in the greatest number of cases by the Lord's prayer in each language and dialect, with a literal German translation interlined, and followed by a commentary in which every sentence is parsed and the meaning of each word given, with an explanation of the grammatical sense and form in which it is employed. Of this extensive work, two volumes† are exclusively dedicated to the languages of the Indians of North and South America, and give a condensed view of all the information which heretofore has existed in print upon this subject.

‘From the labours of the missionaries of the society of the United Brethren in this country, I have derived considerable assistance. With a view to promote the Christian faith, and the civilization of the aborigines of the country: those venerable men had written a number of grammars, dictionaries, and other elementary works on the Indian languages, which being intended merely for the use of their young ministers, were unknown to the rest of the world, and would have remained for ever buried in obscurity, had not the exertions of the historical committee brought them to light, and rendered them more generally useful. By their means, the forms and construction of the two principal mother tongues of this country, the Delaware and the Iroquois, are become sufficiently known. Professor Vater has not given a very particular description of either, for want of materials to work upon; for neither the English nor the French, who were both so long in possession of the northern part of the American continent, had taken pains to furnish them.

‘I have the honour of annexing to this report, a list of the various grammars, dictionaries, vocabularies, and other MS. works on Indian languages, which have been presented or communicated to the historical committee in aid of their researches. It will be easily perceived how much advantage has been derived from them in the course of the inquiries which I have been directed to make. I have, moreover, obtained much additional information from the

* *Mithridates, oder Allegemeine Sprachenkunde, &c.*

Mithridates, or the general science of languages, with the Lord's prayer, as a specimen, in nearly five hundred languages and dialects. Berlin, 1816–1817, 4 vols. bound in 6 octavo. The last volume consists of valuable additions to the former ones, by Mr. F. Adelung, and by baron William Von Humboldt, who has enriched it with an excellent dissertation on the Basque language.

† These are called the 2d, and 3d, parts of the third volume, and contain together, no less than 874 pages. The whole of this third volume, and the best part of the second, are the work of professor Vater.

correspondence which I have carried on with missionaries and others at home and abroad, and which is every day becoming more extensive and interesting. I have found every where the greatest readiness to promote the objects that we have in view; in the south, the honourable Josiah Meigs, the government's commissioner for Indian affairs, has professed his willingness to aid our pursuits by all the means in his power; and in the north, the right Rev. Catholic bishop of Quebec, with a liberality worthy us his exalted character and station, has opened and facilitated to of the means of correspondence with the missionaries of his persuasion, who reside among the Indians of Canada. From these rich and numerous sources, your secretary flatters himself that much light will be thrown on the character and affinities of the aboriginal languages of this part of the American continent, particularly the southern idioms, which are yet very little known.

‘ I have made the best use in my power of these various sources of information, and have besides neglected none of the opportunities that have fallen in my way, of conversing with Indians, interpreters, and other persons practically skilled in the different languages; I have to regret that too few such opportunities have offered; for I have obtained much knowledge from those living instructors, which books do not, and much which they cannot communicate.

‘ These are the means through which I have been hitherto enabled to pursue the inquiry which the committee directed me to make into the forms and character of the languages of the American Indians. I have proceeded in this laborious investigation with an anxious wish to discover the truth, and have endeavoured to keep my mind as much as possible, free from the bias of preconceived opinions. As far as my researches have gone, I have yet found nothing to induce me to change the view which I at first took of my subject, or to come to conclusions materially different from those which I drew in my correspondence with Mr. Heckewelder. It becomes my duty, therefore, to state those conclusions, and lay before the committee the facts subsequently ascertained, by which they may appear to be contradicted or supported. It is of little consequence, perhaps, whether these general inferences are correct or not, provided their truth or falsity is thought of sufficient importance to give a precise, and at the same time an interesting direction to the study of the Indian languages; for it must be acknowledged that there is but little attraction in the mere search after insulated facts.

‘ Three principal results have forcibly struck my mind; I do not state them to the committee as positive facts, it would be highly presumptuous in me so to do. The knowledge which the world in general has acquired of the American languages is yet very limited; that which I individually possess, is extremely so. But in pursuing a course of studies, the committee have very properly judged that it is necessary to have some fixed object in view; and there-

fore, have specially directed me to endeavour to ascertain the general and relative character of the aboriginal idioms of this country. I proceed then, from the hypotheses which, on the most attentive consideration of the whole subject, have appeared to me the most probable; if I have been mistaken, further inquiries will show it, and will, perhaps, lead to more important discoveries; in the contrary supposition, the attention of philosophers will have been drawn to facts not unworthy of it. With the greatest diffidence, therefore, I beg the committee will permit me to state and illustrate the three propositions which I wish to submit to the further investigation of the learned. They are the following:

‘1. That the American languages in general, are rich in words and grammatical forms, and that in their complicated construction, the greatest order, method, and regularity prevail.

‘2. That these complicated forms, which I call *polysynthetic*, appear to exist in all those languages, from Greenland to Cape Horn.

‘3. That these forms appear to differ essentially from those of the ancient and modern languages of the old hemisphere.

‘FIRST QUESTION.

‘*General Character of the Indian Languages.*—To fix the general character of the aboriginal languages of this extensive continent, it is not necessary to go into minute details, nor to confuse our imagination by too extensive a display of its numerous idioms; it is sufficient, I think, for our purpose, to select a few of those that are best known, and the principles of which have been most satisfactorily explained in approved grammatical works. In making this selection, however, we are not to confine ourselves to a particular part of the country; but to take the widest possible range, so as to adduce examples from quarters the most remote from each other. In this manner, I conceive, we take a commanding position, assume our general rule, and call for exceptions.

‘Pursuing this plan, I have selected in the north, the three principal mother tongues; the Karalit, or language of Greenland, and the Eskimaux, the Delaware, and the Iroquois. That the two former are constructed on the true polysynthetic plan, the works of Egede and Crantz, and Mr. Heckewelder’s correspondence, sufficiently prove, and as to the Iroquois, the committee have before them the grammatical works of the missionaries, Pyrlæus and Zeisberger, by which they may easily be convinced that in this language also the polysynthetic forms prevail.

‘In middle America, I shall instance the Poconchi, a language spoken in the province of Guatemala; of which, Thomas Gage, in his voyage to New Spain, has given a short description, by which, however, its polysynthetic character sufficiently appears; and also the Mexican proper, and the Tarascan dialect, with their reflected, transitive, compulsive, applicative, meditative, communicative, reverential, and frequentative verbs, and other complex forms, which

are well explained and exemplified by Tapia Zenteno, F. Antonio de Rincon, and F. Diego Basalenque, in their grammars of those languages, which are in our society's library. Those that we have of the other dialects of Mexico, are extremely deficient; their authors having too much endeavoured to make their grammatical construction square with the rules of the Latin and Spanish grammar. Yet enough may be drawn from them, and from other sources, to satisfy us that they also partake of the general character of American languages. Zenteno's grammar of the Haustecan, informs us that it has the compulsive or causative, and the transitive verbs, and the pronominal affixes,* which we find also to exist in the Mixtecan;† even in the Othomi, of which a very insufficient view is given in the grammar of Neve y Molina, the Mithridates has enabled us to discover analagous forms.‡ It appears that several of those who have written grammars of American languages, have said little of their complex structure, from the difficulty of explaining it. Molina, in the introduction to the third part of his Othomi grammar, observes that that language is believed by many to be so difficult, as not to be at all reducible to rules.§ Therefore, in order to cut this Gordian knot, he has given only those forms which are the most analagous to the principles of his own language. This ought always to be borne in mind by those who pursue the study of the American idioms.

'South America remains. I think it sufficient to notice, at its two extremities, the Caribbee and Araucanian languages. Of the former, there is a very good grammar and a dictionary by father Breton, and the grammatical character of the latter has been well displayed by the Abbé Molina, in his excellent History of Chili. I believe I need not do more, than refer to those works to prove, that these two languages are polysynthetic in the highest degree, and that the greatest analogy exists between their forms and those of the idioms of the northern parts of this continent. I beg leave to adduce one single example to illustrate the extraordinary similarity which subsists between the languages of the north and south. The abbé Molina, amidst a number of compound verbs in the Araucanian language, instances the verb "*iduancloclavin*," "I do not wish to eat with him." I once asked Mr. Heckewelder whether there was any similar verb in the Delaware, and he immediately gave me *n'schingiwipoma*, "I do not like to eat with him." A stronger feature of resemblance in point of grammatical construc-

* Pages 15, 27, 37.

† Dzutundoo, *our father*.

Sananini, *thy name*.

Tasinisindo, *give us*.

See the Lord's prayer in the Mixtecan language, in the Mithridates, Vol. III. part iii. page 41.

‡ Mahteihe, *our father*.

Punnocahe, *forgive us*.

Neibucakengu, *as we*.

Ibid. p. 118.

§ Page 97.

tion, between the idioms of nations placed at such an immense distance from each other, cannot, I think, be exhibited; and with this, and the references I have above made, I believe I may, for the present, rest satisfied.

‘If I have shown it to be, at least, sufficiently probable, that polysynthetic forms are the general characteristic of the American Indian languages, I need only to refer to Mr. Heckewelder’s correspondence to prove that those forms, as exemplified by him in the Delaware, are such as I have described them; that they are rich, copious, expressive, and particularly that the greatest order, method, and analogy reign through them. To endeavour to give better proof of this fact, than those which that learned gentleman has given, would be a waste of labour and time. Indeed, from the view which he offers of the Lenni Lenape idiom, it would rather appear to have been formed by philosophers in their closets, than by savages in the wilderness. If it should be asked, how this can have happened, I can only answer, that I have been ordered to collect and ascertain facts, not to build theories. There remains a great deal yet to be ascertained, before we can venture to search into remote causes.

‘As the Delaware appears in the delineations which Mr. Heckewelder has given it, so the other languages formed on the same model have appeared to me; and, indeed, it can hardly be supposed that with similar means, different effects will be produced. Wherever the polysynthetic forms of language prevails, it is natural to presume that it is accompanied with all its inherent qualities, which are those which I have above described. The manner in which words are compounded in that particular mode of speech, the great number and variety of ideas which it has the power of expressing in one single word, particularly by means of the verbs; all these stamp its character for abundance, strength, and comprehensiveness of expression, in such a manner, that those accidents must be considered as included in the general descriptive term *polysynthetic*. Nor can this class of languages be divested, even in imagination, of the admirable order, method, and regularity, which pervades them; for it is evident that without these, such complicated forms of language could not subsist, and the confusion which would follow, would render them unfit even for the communication of the most simple ideas. A simple language may be, perhaps, unmethodical, but one which is highly complicated, and in which the parts of speech are to a considerable degree interwoven with each other, I humbly conceive, never can.

‘Still, Mr. Chairman, I am aware that this statement of facts will have many prejudices to encounter. It has been said, and will be said again, that “Savages having but few ideas, can want but few words; and, therefore, that their languages must necessarily be poor.” Whether savages have or have not many ideas, it is not my province to determine: all I can say is, that if it is true that their ideas are few, it is not less certain that they have many

words to express them. I might even say that they have an innumerable quantity of words, for, as Colden very justly observes, "they have the power and the means of compounding them without end."*

'Permit me, sir, to add to the numerous proofs which Mr. Heckewelder has given of the copiousness of the Indian languages, a strong example, taken, not from the Delaware, but from the Iroquois idiom. Of this we knew very little, until the grammatical works of Pyrlæus and Zeisberger, and the dictionary of the latter, which were thought irretrievably lost, were fortunately recovered. By the liberality of the venerable society of the United Brethren at Bethlehem, this dictionary is now deposited in our society's library. It is German and Indian, beginning with the German: the counterpart, it seems, never was undertaken; at least, no traces of it are to be found. But the part that we have, fills alone seven quarto manuscript volumes, containing together not less than two thousand three hundred and sixty-seven pages. It is true; that one-half of each page is left blank for a margin; but allowing one-fourth as the usual space for that purpose, it still leaves one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five pages of writing, consisting of German words and phrases, with their translation into Indian. It must be acknowledged that there are not many dictionaries of this size; and if this is filled (as there is no reason to doubt,) with genuine Iroquois, it is in vain to speak of the poverty of that language.

'I wish to avoid as much as possible entering into tedious details; but perhaps it will not be amiss, by way of example, to make one or two short extracts out of this book, to show that the ideas and words of Indians are not, as many suppose, confined to the expression of things relating to their usual occupations and physical existence.

'In the first volume, under the letter B, and the German word *Bankerott*, we find:

IN IROQUOIS.

| | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| <i>Er hat bankerott gemacht</i> | } <i>Ohne harwaheje,</i> <i>Ohne jachstennahote hoje.</i> |
| He is a bankrupt, or has | |
| become bankrupt. | |

'And in the third volume, under the letter I, and the German word *Inwendig*, inward, inwardly.

| | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Inwardly, | <i>Nacu, gajatacu.</i> |
| Inward heat, | <i>Otariche gajatacu.</i> |
| Inward rest, | <i>Jonigochrio,</i> |
| A quiet conscience, } | <i>Scaeno agonochtonnie gajatacu.</i> |
| What is inwardly concealed, | <i>Nonahote nacu ne wachsehta.</i> |

'The committee have now the means of judging whether "the Indians have few ideas, and few words to express them." For my part, I confess that I am lost in astonishment at the copiousness

* See Heckewelder's Correspondence, page 390.

and admirable structure of their languages, for which I can only account by looking up to the GREAT FIRST CAUSE.'

The second and third propositions, though more fully, and therefore still more satisfactorily treated, are less strikingly novel and important, and we forbear from further extracts.

This report is followed by a very detailed and highly interesting 'Account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations who once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighbouring States.' By the Rev. John Heckewelder, of Bethlehem.

This occupies about three hundred and fifty pages, and comprises a vast multiplicity of facts and observations, communicated by the Rev. author, who resided among the Indians between thirty and forty years.

We shall reserve for a future opportunity, our remarks upon this part of the volume, (and it is an abundant theme,) as well as upon the valuable correspondence which fills the remainder of the book.

ART. XII.—*Indian Account of the First Arrival of the Dutch at New York Island.*

[From Heckewelder's Historical Account of the Indians.]

THE Lenni Lenape claim the honour of having received and welcomed the Europeans on their first arrival in the country, situated between New England and Virginia. It is probable, however, that the Mahicani or Mohicans, who then inhabited the banks of the Hudson, concurred in the hospitable act. The relation I am going to make was taken down many years since from the mouth of an intelligent Delaware Indian, and may be considered as a correct account of the tradition existing among them of this momentous event. I give it as much as possible in their own language.

A great many years ago, when men with a white skin had never yet been seen in this land, some Indians who were out a fishing at a place where the sea widens, espied at a great distance something remarkably large floating on the water, and such as they had never seen before. These Indians immediately returning to the shore, apprised their countrymen of what they had observed, and pressed them to go out with them and discover what it might be. They hurried out together, and saw with astonishment the phenomenon which now appeared to their sight, but could not agree upon what it was; some believed it to be an uncommonly large fish or animal, while others were of opinion it must be a very big house floating on the sea. At length the spectators concluded that this wonderful object was moving towards the land, and that it must be an animal or something else that had life in it; it would therefore be proper to inform all the Indians on the inhabited islands of what they had seen, and put them on their guard. Accordingly they sent off a number of runners and wa-

termen to carry the news to their scattered chiefs, that they might send off in every direction for the warriors, with a message that they should come on immediately. These arriving in numbers, and having themselves viewed the strange appearance, and observing that it was actually moving towards the entrance of the river or bay; concluded it to be a remarkably large house in which the Mannitto (the Great or Supreme Being) himself was present, and that he probably was coming to visit them. By this time the chiefs were assembled at York island and deliberating in what manner in which they should receive their Mannitto on his arrival. Every measure was taken to be well provided with plenty of meat for a sacrifice. The women were desired to prepare the best victuals. All the idols or images were examined and put in order, and a grand dance was supposed not only to be an agreeable entertainment for the Great Being, but it was believed that it might, with the addition of a sacrifice, contribute to appease him if he was angry with them. The conjurers were also set to work, to determine what this phenomenon portended, and what the possible result of it might be. To these and to the chiefs and wise men of the nations, men, women and children were looking up for advice and protection. Distracted between hope and fear, they were at a loss what to do; a dance, however, commenced in great confusion. While in this situation, fresh runners arrive declaring it to be a large house of various colours, and crowded with living creatures. It appears now to be certain, that it is the great Mannitto, bringing them some kind of game, such as he had not given them before, but other runners soon after arriving declare that it is positively a house full of human beings, of quite a different colour from that of the Indians, and dressed differently from them; that in particular one of them was dressed entirely in red, who must be the Mannitto himself. They are hailed from the vessel in a language they do not understand, yet they shout or yell in return by way of answer, according to the custom of their country; many are for running off to the woods, but are pressed by others to stay, in order not to give offence to their visitor, who might find them out and destroy them. The house, some say large canoe, at last stops, and a canoe of a smaller size comes on shore with the red man and some others in it; some stay with his canoe to guard it. The chiefs and wise men, assembled in council, form themselves into a large circle, towards which the man in red clothes approaches with two others. He salutes them with a friendly countenance, and they return the salute after their manner. They are lost in admiration; the dress, the manners, the whole appearance of the unknown strangers is to them a subject of wonder, but they are particularly struck with him who wore the red coat all glittering with gold lace, which they could in no manner account for. He, surely, must be the great Mannitto, but why should he have a white skin? Meanwhile, a large *hack-*

*hack** is brought by one of the servants, from which an unknown substance is poured out into a small cup or glass, and handed to the supposed Mannitto. He drinks—has the glass filled again, and hands it to the chief standing next to him. The chief receives it, but only smells the contents and passes it on to the next chief, who does the same. The glass or cup thus passes through the circle, without the liquor being tasted by any one, and is upon the point of being returned to the red clothed Mannitto, when one of the Indians, a brave man and a great warrior, suddenly jumps up and harangues the assembly on the impropriety of returning the cup with its contents. It was handed to them, says he, by the Mannitto, that they should drink out of it, as he himself had done. To follow his example would be pleasing to him; but to return what he had given them might provoke his wrath and bring destruction on them. And since the orator believed it for the good of the nation that the contents offered them should be drunk, and as no one else would do it, he would drink it himself, let the consequence be what it might; it was better for one man to die, than that a whole nation should be destroyed. He then took the glass, and bidding the assembly a solemn farewell, at once drank up its whole contents. Every eye was fixed on the resolute chief, to see what effect the unknown liquor would produce. He soon began to stagger, and at last fell prostrate on the ground. His companions now bemoan his fate, he falls into a sound sleep, and they think he has expired. He wakes again, jumps up and declares, that he has enjoyed the most delicious sensations, and that he never before felt himself so happy as after he had drunk the cup. He asks for more, his wish is granted; the whole assembly then imitate him, and all become intoxicated.

After this general intoxication had ceased, for they say that while it lasted the whites had confined themselves to their vessel, the man with the red clothes returned again, and distributed presents among them, consisting of beads, axes, hoes, and stockings such as the white people wear. They soon became familiar with each other, and began to converse by signs. The Dutch made them understand that they would not stay here, that they would return home again, but would pay them another visit the next year, when they would bring them more presents, and stay with them awhile; but as they could not live without eating, they should want a little land of them to sow seeds, in order to raise herbs and vegetables to put into their broth. They went away as they had said, and returned in the following season, when both parties were much rejoiced to see each other; but the whites laughed at the Indians, seeing that they knew not the use of the axes and hoes they had given them the year before; for they had these hanging to their breasts as ornaments, and the stockings

* Hackhack is properly a gourd, but since they have seen glass bottles and decanters, they call them by the same name.

were made use of as tobacco pouches. The whites now put handles to the former for them, and cut trees down before their eyes, hoed up the ground, and put the stockings on their legs. Here, they say, a general laughter ensued among the Indians, that they had remained ignorant of the use of such valuable implements, and had borne the weight of such heavy metal hanging to their necks for such a length of time. They took every white man they saw for an inferior Mannitto attendant on the Supreme Deity, who shone superior in the red and laced clothes. As the whites became daily more familiar with the Indians, they at last proposed to stay with them, and asked only for so much ground for a garden spot as, they said, the hide of a bullock would cover or encompass, which hide was spread before them. The Indians readily granted this apparently reasonable request; but the whites then took a knife and beginning at one end of the hide, cut it up to a long rope, not thicker than a child's finger, so that by the time the whole was cut up, it made a great heap; they then took the rope at one end, and drew it gently along, carefully avoiding its breaking. It was drawn out into a circular form, and being closed at its ends, encompassed a large piece of ground. The Indians were surprised at the superior wit of the whites,* but did not wish to contend with them about a little land, as they had still enough themselves. The white and red men lived contentedly together for a long time, though the former from time to time asked for more land, which was readily obtained, and thus they gradually proceeded higher up the Mahicanittuck, until the Indians began to believe that they would soon want all their country, which in the end proved true.

ART. XIII.—*The Battle of Waterloo. in Rhyme.*

[From the Edinburgh Magazine.]

MR. EDITOR,—In my rambles near this city, it has been my lot to scrape acquaintance with corporal Underwood, late of the foot guards, who lost his left arm on the memorable 18th of June. The corporal, however, won the heart of a fair Belgian, and is now the son-in-law of a respectable farmer, with whom he resides between this place and St. Nicholas. Having listened always with attention, and sometimes with interest, to Mr. Underwood's anecdotes of the battle, I at length gained his entire confidence. With blushing modesty he avowed himself a poet, and owned that the height of his ambition was to see his favourite production appear in print. I inclose it to you, hoping you will be able to oblige the gallant corporal, without disobliging your readers. And am your's sincerely.

N. C.

Brussels, Aug. 11, 1818.

To the tune of 'The Bay of Biscay, O!'

Come listen noble countrymen, unto the tale I tell,
How on the field of Waterloo the battle it befel,
Between the English and the French, so bloody, that no doubt
Its glorious memory will cut all other battles out.

* These Dutchmen were probably acquainted with what is related of Queen Dido in ancient history, and thus turned their classical knowledge to a good account.

The 17th day of June it was we marched from Quatre Bras,
The rain it fell as heavily all day as e'er you saw;
And long and weary was the way, till just as dusk began,
We pitched our bivouack upon the heights of Mont St. Jean.

And O, that night was stormy still with lightning and with thunder,
As if the very vault of heaven would split itself asunder,
And there we lay all cold, and thought, if not in fear, in sorrow,
Of those that we had left at home, and of the dark to-morrow.

No sunbeam shone upon that morn, but dark and dull it rose,
And seemed to scowl upon the earth as foes do on their foes;
And there we saw the French drawn up upon the other height,
With long dark lines of men in blue, and bayonets shining bright.

Our centre was at La Haye Sainte, in front of Mont St. Jean,
Just where the road from Charleroi that leads to Brussels ran;
Our left flank rested on Smouhen, our right upon Merke Braine,
With Hougomont in front between the hills upon the plain.

The Duke had placed in Hougomont Lord Salton and the guards,
With the Nassau sharpshooters about the little park and yards;
But when the French came down the hill, the latter ran away,
And left the guards to bear the brunt and honour of the day.

So the French went round and round the house, and roared and cursed and fired;
And the guards they fired back on them, till both were fairly tired;
And the court-yard blazed, and the grape shot flew like mad through wall
and wood,

But stout Lord Salton and the guards still made their footing good.

Then General Foy with the steel clad horse, that the French call cuirassiers,
Dashed on and charged the hollow squares of the guards and Brunswickers.
We did not care so much for them; but the French artillery
It played point blank and swept the files of our squares most dismally.

So on they came, guns, cuirassiers, and column after column;
The oldest men from Spain looked queer, and thought it rather solemn.
But still our lads they kept their ground, and stood both stout and stiff;
While the French drew back like the broken wave from the foot of Dover cliff.

And in the centre 'twas the same; for there upon La Haye,
The Frenchmen made a desperate charge and almost won the day;
The Hanovers fought well, and when their shot was all expended,
They fell, as soldiers ought to fall, on the spot they had defended.

So the French dragoons they gained the hill; but Picton met them there,
And the deadly push of the British steel the rascals could not bear;
And the gallant Greys they leaped the hedge, and then those cocks of game,
With the 92d, made the French run faster than they came.

The ground was strewed with mailed men in iron and in brass,
And as the chargers passed, their hoofs rung on the fallen cuirass;
Then Picton fell in glory's arms with a bullet through his brain,—
I knew Sir Thomas Picton well, for I served with him in Spain.

At half-past six Napoleon made his last severe attack,
With double columns of his guards, who drove our light troops back;
They never yet had met their match, so they thought the victory sure,
And they shouldered their arms, and marched along, shouting *vive l'empereur*.

But our cannon checked their march a bit, and when they gained the height,
They stood stock still, for there in front they saw an ugly sight,—
The guards were getting on their feet, the Duke was at their head;
'Up guards and at 'em!' was the word—'twas done as soon as said.

'Twas in this charge I lost my arm, but little of that thought I,
When I sat and saw the English guards doing so famously.
The fight was won; for on the left old Blucher's cannon thundered,
Napoleon swore 'twas Grouchy's corps, in which he sadly blundered.

But Blucher soon showed who he was; for on Napoleon's right
He poured pell mell, and fixed at last the fortune of the fight.
And Wellington deployed his squares, and led them on in line;
And the sun himself looked out from his clouds, and at length began to shine.

'Twas worth his while, for such a sight he ne'er again may see,
When down the hill like lightning whirled the horse artillery:
And the line advanced, and the light dragoons they scoured across the field,
While the few of the French that still remained, stood but to die or yield.

We took 150 guns, the Prussians as many more,
And 40,000 French lie there, that shall follow the drum no more.
A grape shot split my arm; and so with others I was sent,
And put into the Doctor's hands, at the hospital of Ghent.

They amputated me, and now I'm doing very well;
But I do not grudge the loss of an arm, when I've such a tale to tell.
And now my noble countrymen, I needs must hope that you
Over your wine will spare a toast to the men of Waterloo.

ART. XIV.—*Notoria; or Miscellaneous Articles of Philosophy,
Literature, and Politics.*

ANECDOTES OF EDMUND BURKE.

[From Curwen's *Observations on the
State of Ireland.*]

Political connections had early made him the champion of liberty, and the friend to American independence; but these perhaps were not his real unbiassed opinions, as I have ever regarded him to be a whig from interest, though a tory in principle. In the religious as well as political tenets, by which his conduct was governed, he was equally intolerant. This opinion is confirmed by circumstances which fell under my observation in the spring of 1790, when the duke of Athol's claims on the Isle of Man were under examination. I then frequently saw Mr. Burke, and being asked to breakfast with him, to meet a professor from the University of Leipsic at his house in Gerard street, the conversation principally turned on the state of the German empire, and the views and conduct of the Illuminati. Mr. Burke considered their influence to be of a very extensive and dangerous nature, and that the emperor Joseph had been made their dupe; that the changes in Bohemia, emancipating the people from feudal oppression, had been at the instigation of the Illuminati, and to them were

attributable the subsequent disturbances.

Though completely ignorant, at that period, of every matter relative to farming, I had been much pleased with the appearance of Bohemia, where the industry and energy of the people seemed to be greater; and, as far as superficial observations enabled me to form a judgment, the cultivation of its soil seemed to surpass that of the neighbouring states. This information, as I had so recently passed through the country, I thought might be acceptable, and have some weight in our discussions—but I was mistaken; Mr. Burke burst out into a paroxysm of rage, and, in the most unqualified language, positively denied the facts I had stated. I was not less astonished than hurt at this departure from good breeding; but there was no alternative, between a silent suppression of the indignity I received, and a positive quarrel.

I continued on friendly terms with Mr. Burke until after his unprovoked and cold-blooded attack on Mr. Fox, the cruelty of which admits of no extenuation: had it occurred in the heat of debate, some excuse might have been pleaded. It was known that he differed from Mr. Fox on the topic of the revolution in France, and it had

been intimated for some days that Mr. Burke intended to pronounce a bitter invective against the party: there was no question before the house, nor did he premise that he had any to propose; but, contrary to order, he entered on the subject of the French revolution. The matter and the manner of Mr. Fox's reply interested the feelings of every individual in the house, whose heart was not ossified by the corrupt lust of power. Mr. Pitt, in my opinion, never lost himself more than at the moment he was cheering and seeming to approve this unjustifiable attack. To abet the dereliction of friends, for the purpose of strengthening his own situation, and securing to himself a further acquisition of power and support, might be consonant to the views of base and of sordid minds; but it was wholly unworthy of Mr. Pitt.

The most powerful feelings were manifested on the adjournment of the house,—Mr. Burke's violence had completely destroyed the effect, which the wisdom of his political maxims, under other circumstances, was calculated to inspire. If they, whose views he meant to further, had spoken candidly, they must have avowed, that he had injured the cause it was his intention to benefit.

Whilst I was waiting for my carriage, Mr. Burke came up to me and requested, as the night was wet, I would set him down—I could not refuse—though I confess I felt a reluctance in complying. As soon as the carriage door was shut, he complimented me on my being no friend to the revolutionary doctrines of the French; on which he spoke with great warmth for a few minutes; when he paused, to afford me an opportunity of approving the view he had taken of those measures in the house. Former experience had taught me the consequences of dissenting from his opinions, yet, at the moment, I could not help feeling disinclined to disguise or stifle my sentiments. In a few words, I declared that I differed most completely from him—that I sincerely wished to every nation a constitution as free as our own, and that the cause of liberty might triumph all over the world!—Mr. Burke, catching hold of the check-string, furiously exclaimed, 'You are one of these people! set me down!' With some difficulty I restrained him;—we had then

reached Charing-Cross—a silence ensued, which was preserved till we reached his house in Gerard-street, when he hurried out of the carriage without speaking, and thus our intercourse ended.

Though I often, afterwards, found myself accidentally seated next Mr. Burke in the house of commons, every interchange of civility between us was suspended.

—
ON CICERO.

[From the Correspondence of the Abbé Galiani.]

You wish to know how to form a just opinion of the merits of Cicero. The following are my ideas. Cicero may be considered as a literary man, a philosopher, and a statesman. As a literary genius, he may be ranked among the foremost that ever existed. He knew all that was known in the age in which he lived, with the exception of geometry, and other sciences of that kind. He was a tolerable philosopher, for he was well acquainted with all that the Greeks had studied,—and he explained what he knew with admirable clearness; but he could not reflect himself, and had not the power of exerting his imagination. He had the good fortune to be the first to promulgate the ideas of the Greeks, in the Latin language, and this occasioned him to be read and admired by his countrymen. For the same reason, Voltaire made more noise in the world than Bochart, Bossuet, Huet, Le Clerc, Hammond, Grotius, &c. They wrote on the Bible in Latin, all that Voltaire has explained in French: yet their works are neglected, whilst his are universally read. As a statesman, Cicero, being of mean extraction, and anxious to distinguish himself, thought it most advisable to espouse the cause of the *opposition*, or of the lower house, or of the people if you will. This he found the more easy, as Marius, the founder of that party, was his countryman. He even had strong inducements for doing so, for he began by attacking Sylla, and making friends with the opposition party, at the head of which, after the death of Marius, were Clodius, Catiline, and Cæsar. But the aristocratic party wanted a great lawyer, and a man of learning; for men of rank generally stand in need of such helps. He was therefore con-

vinced that his services would be most valuable to the aristocratic party, where he might play a brilliant part. An upstart was then seen mingling with the Patricians. Picture to yourself an English barrister, whom the court is willing to make a chancellor, and who accordingly joins the ministerial party. Cicero therefore shone by the side of Pompey, &c. whenever questions of jurisprudence came under discussion; but he could not boast either of birth or riches; and, above all, not being a military man, he played, in this respect, an inferior part. Besides he was naturally attached to Cæsar's party, and was tired of the haughtiness of the great, who too frequently made him feel the weight of the obligations they conferred upon him. He was not pusillanimous, he was irresolute. He did not defend villainy, he defended the individuals of his party who were not a bit better than their opponents. Catiline's affair was serious, because it was connected with the interests of a great party. No affair of the whigs is unimportant in England, though it may seem ridiculous in Paris. His eloquence was not venal, any more than Mr. Pitt's; it was that of his party. Voltaire seems to be ironical when he talks of Cicero's government of Cilicia.—Nothing can bear a stronger resemblance to Sancho Panza's government in the Island of Barataria. It was a mere party affair to enable him to enjoy the honour of a triumph; as the exploits of M. de Soubise had no other object than to obtain the Marshal's Baton. Yet Cicero did not obtain it; and his friend Cato was the first to oppose it. He did not wish absolutely to prostitute an honour already too degraded; and, besides, Cicero could not boast of birth comparable to the house of Rohan. Of Cicero's virtues but little is known; he never governed.—With regard to his merit in having opened the gates of Rome to philosophy, it is necessary to observe that the opposition party was an infidel party; for the bishops, (that is to say the augurs and pontiffs) were all lords and patricians. Thus the opposition party attacked religion, and Lucretius had written his poem before Cicero. The aristocratic party supported religion: but Cicero, who in his heart inclined towards the opposition party, was se-

cretly deistical, and dared not appear so. When Cæsar's faction triumphed, he expressed his real sentiments more openly, and without being ashamed of them. But it is not to him we owe the foundation of the Pagan incredulity, which they called *Sophia*, wisdom; that belonged to Cæsar's party. The commendations which posterity has lavished on Cicero, arise from his having joined the side in opposition to that which the cruelty of the emperors subsequently rendered odious. This is enough on Cicero.

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An Autumn near the Rhine; or, Sketches of Courts, Society, and Scenery in some of the German States bordering on the Rhine. 8vo. pp. 524. Longman and Co.

[From the Gentleman's Magazine.]

We have seldom met with a tour which has afforded us so much gratification as we have derived from this pleasing volume.

The author is not merely an acute observer, but an original thinker; and, with quick and lively perceptions, he possesses an understanding uncommonly vigorous and comprehensive—equally happy in his details and his descriptions, he has the art to give to subjects long familiar, an air of novelty, and to invest the most trivial circumstances with interest and importance. We are persuaded that we should be gratified by any production from this able pen; but, as an enlightened and entertaining traveller is almost the greatest rarity to be found in literary society, we shall hope to learn that the author of 'The Autumn near the Rhine' is preparing another tour.

The following extract contains information which may be acceptable to some of our readers.

'Among other great and little Grandees, to use an Hibernian license, I met at Darmstadt a prince of Hesse Homberg, a distinguished officer in the Austrian service, and son of the Landgrave of Homberg, *vor der hohe* (before the height;) a less than duodecimo territory at the foot of the Taunus mountains, near Frankfort. (Homberg was, before the late system of making and unmaking sovereigns, an appanage of a younger branch of the family of Hesse Darmstadt, under the sovereignty of the grand duke, with a terri-

tory literally not much exceeding in size that of Lilliput, as described by Gulliver, twelve miles in circumference; it contained then about 6000 inhabitants. Now the little state is swelled into an absolute monarchy, a patch of territory is given to it on the other side of the Rhine, it musters from 18,000 to 20,000 subjects, and contains 10 square German, about 50 square English miles. This enormous aggrandizement is owing to the influence at Vienna of the four or five sons of the reigning sovereign, distinguished and meritorious officers in the service of the emperor of Austria.) The prince Philip, whom I met at Darmstadt, is a pleasant middle-aged man, of simple unaffected manners. His elder brother, the hereditary prince, is reported to have sent in his proposals for a marriage with our princess Elizabeth, who is said to have signified to her royal brother her desire of changing her spinster life at Windsor, for that of a wife. Every body speaks well of the prince, as a brave, honest soldier; and though the alliance is not one of much territorial dignity; good character and military distinction are, perhaps, all an English princess need demand, in the individual whom she honours with her hand. One of the brothers is married to the princess of Prussia. Homberg is a pretty little place, in a beautiful country, under noble mountains; the reigning sovereign, a worthy infirm old prince; the revenue of the State, about 150,000*l.* a year. It is a curious fact, of which I was apprised by a German friend, that this will not be the first connexion of little Hesse Homberg with England. As far back as the year 1294, Homberg became, by a singular bargain, a fief of our Edward I. The emperor Adolphus (of Nassau) was involved in a dispute with Philip of France; with whom our Edward being always disposed to quarrel, he entered into a close alliance with the emperor, and engaged him to declare war against Philip. The chief agent between the two sovereigns, and promoter of the alliance, was Adolphus's favourite, Eberhard, count of Katzenellenbogen, and lord of Homberg. The king of England, in his anxiety to secure him to his interest, persuaded him to become his vassal, seconding his proposal by 500*l.* of English gold, which it ap-

pears possessed as much attraction to little princes in those days as in these. The count could not resist the offer; and actually took the oath of allegiance, before an English ambassador, to the English king, for the castle and town of Homberg.

—
More News from Venice, by Beppo, a Noble Venetian. Translated from the Original. By Julius. 8vo. pp. 32.

This poem is worthy of an attentive perusal. The ingenious author, after incidentally lashing some of the follies of our own metropolis, concludes with some well-deserved encomiums on the transcendant poetical abilities of an illustrious peer, intermingled with wholesome advice—and with admonitions to the Venetian ladies.

‘This is a man all solemnness and mystery,
That loves to wander at the noon of night,
And if the truth is stated in his history,
He’s Pope of Poets by exclusive right.
For there, I’m told, he’s head of their consistory,
And wears the laurel crown (as many say) aright:
For there are popes besides the Pope of Rome,
In Church or State, (infallibles,) or home.’
‘My poor dear creatures I have learnt to pity
Those who are made the sport of such a hero,
Who’s great in groans, and in his murders witty,
A proud epitome of master Nero.
Ah, I could tell you such a doleful ditty,
As I will vouch would make you cry,
Oh dear, oh!
How often has he wish’d that woman-kind
Had but one heart to break—to break it to his mind. *Gent. Mag.*

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Fine Arts.—Mr. Allston is at Boston engaged in completing the great picture of Belshazzar, which it is said will probably be purchased by the Massachusetts Hospital. He has also orders for a great number of cabinet pictures. The London papers mention that he is elected an associate of the Royal Academy of Arts.

Mr. C. W. Peale has lately painted excellent likenesses of several distin-

guished public characters, among which are those of the President, the Vice President, Mr. Crawford, Mr. Adams, Mr. Calhoun, Mr. King, Mr. Clay, Mr. Eppes, Mr. Barlow, Mr. Holmes, Mr. Wirt, Gen. Jackson, Col. Trumbull, Col. Johnson, &c. Engravings from some of them are intended to be procured for this Magazine.

Three pictures of great antiquity and value have recently been placed in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts.—One a Holy Family and landscape, by *Titian*, valued by the French Academy at Paris, at 1200 dollars. Another, the "Adoration of the Saviour," by *Lucas of Leyden*, valued by the same high authority, at 300 dollars. And the third, a Rural Concert, by *Georgione*, in like manner, estimated at 240 dollars.

A certificate accompanies them from the secretary of the French Academy by order of the board of directors, that they are genuine *original* paintings.—But although they are objects of curiosity, particularly that by *Titian*, as works of celebrated masters, their beauty is not very remarkable. They are, however, said to be *very* early performances of the respective artists.

Philadelphia Athenæum.—By the fourth annual report of the Directors, made February 19th, 1819, it appears that the institution is in a very flourishing condition. The income of the ensuing year is estimated at 2607 dollars and 14 cents; the expenses at 2300 dollars. There is also a stock-fund, (the interest of which forms part of the above sum of \$2607 14,) estimated at 5800 dollars.

The stockholders pay 4 dollars annually on each share, the original subscribers 5 dollars, and the annual visitors 8 dollars.

The library consists of about 2100 volumes, and is rapidly increasing.—Twenty-one magazines, reviews, and other periodical publications, and two newspapers are imported from England, and are usually found in the rooms within the period of two months after their publication. Three newspapers and journals are regularly received from France, and other French and Spanish journals are frequently placed on the tables by the numerous friends of the institution.

All the best periodical publications of the United States, upwards of thirty American newspapers; and almost all the late American and English books published in our country, with many new maps, charts, &c. are constantly added to the stock.

Extraordinary acquisition of Languages.—At a recent meeting of the Shropshire auxiliary Bible Society, archdeacon Corbet drew a parallel between Mr. Samuel Lee (one of the preachers) and the admirable Crichton. From the Rev. gentleman's statement, it appears that Mr. Lee had merely the education of a village school, (where he was born, about six miles from Shrewsbury,) viz. reading, writing, and arithmetic; that he left school at twelve years of age, to learn the trade of a carpenter and builder. While thus employed, he became *self-taught*, a Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Samaritan scholar. These languages he acquired in six years, at the hours during which he was relieved from manual labour. Since that period, Mr. Lee has had more assistance, and is now, in addition, familiar with Arabic and Persian, Hindostanee, French, German, Italian, Ethiopic, Coptic, Malay, Sanscrit, and Bengalee—in all *seventeen* languages in *fourteen* years. *Eu. Mag.*

American Philosophical Society.—The officers elected January 1, 1819, were, *President*, Robert Patterson, *vice* Dr. Wistar, deceased. *Vice-Presidents*, William Tilghman, P. S. Duponceau, and Z. Collins, *vice*, R. Patterson. *Secretaries*, Thomas C. James, R. M. Patterson, W. P. C. Barton, R. Walsh, jun. *Counsellors for three years*, W. Rawle, H. Binney, Jno. Sargent, John Quincy Adams; (the other Counsellors are, Thomas Jefferson, W. M'Clure, Nicholas Collin, Wm. Meredith, Thomas Cooper, James Gibson, N. Chapman, S. Calhoun.) *Curators*, Joseph Cloud, Thomas T. Hewson, Reuben Haines. *Treasurer and Librarian*, John Vaughan.

University of Pennsylvania.—The Trustees have added a chair of *General Literature* to the professorships already existing. Robert Walsh, jun. Esq. has been elected the professor.

Mr. Roscoe has in the press a work on Penal Jurisprudence, and the Reformation of Criminals, which will include an inquiry into the motives and limits of human punishments, and also as to the effect of punishment by way of example, and on the prevention of crimes. The work will also contain the latest accounts respecting the state prisons and penitentiaries in the United States of America.

Dr. Spurzheim has published, at Paris, a new work on the Physiology of the Brain, entitled 'Observations sur la Phraenologie; ou la connaissance de l'homme moral et intellectuel fondee sur las fonctions du Systeme Nerveux.' This work contains several plates, illustrative of the doctrine; and doctor Spurzheim has added two new organs to the thirty-three contained in his work called the 'Physiognomical System,' lately published in England, which he has discovered, namely, one which gives the propensity to *mystify*, and causes the possessor to deal in fiction, to be superstitious, and which he calls 'Organ de Surnaturalité' The second new organ arises from a division which the doctor has made of the organ of individuality into individuality and phenominality, or the perception and accurate recollection of particular occurrences, facts, &c.

Messrs. Tanner, Vallance, Kearny and Co. have recently published the first number of a new American Atlas, containing maps of the world, Europe, and South America, in two sheets. This is the commencement of an extensive work, intended to exhibit on a uniform scale, a complete geographical view of the United States, in connexion with the rest of the world. The second number, containing maps of Asia, America, New York, Ohio, and Indiana, it is stated will be issued some time in the present month.

Expected new Publications in England.

The illustrious count Chaptal is preparing for the press, the History of the Inventions and Discoveries in the Arts and Sciences in France, since the commencement of the revolution. The English edition of it is, we understand, to be confided to sir John Byerley. It

will be a most valuable and important work, and will form two volumes in 8vo. with plates; and the English and French editions will appear about the same time in Paris and London.

Specimens of the British Poets, with biographical and critical notices. To which is prefixed, an Introduction to the Study of English Poetry. By Thomas Campbell, Esq. author of the Pleasures of Hope. 7 vols. post 8vo.

The public dinner given, by subscription, to general Jackson, in Philadelphia, is said to have cost two thousand five hundred dollars. How much more elegant, durable, and appropriate would have been the compliment, if the subscription had been applied to the erection of a column or statue in honour of him, or the purchase of an historical picture, representing some of his exploits, to decorate one of the public buildings. In New York they have shown rather better taste, the corporation have resolved to place his portrait in the City Hall.

TO A LADY.

The traveller, on distant shores
That Ganges' waters lave,
Or where th' Atlantick madly roars,
And curls its foaming wave;
Oft seems to feel the social fire
That warms his native home,
And sees around his aged sire
His wife and children come.
Whate'er I do, where'er I rove,
So turn my thoughts to thee, my love!

In quest of food, the beauteous dove
Deserts her tender care,
And bounding with maternal love
Shoots through the liquid air;
But as her trembling pinions fly,
And waft her swift along,
Ceaseless she hears her nestlings' cry
The distant woods among.
Whate'er I do, where'er I rove,
So turn my thoughts to thee, my love!

When the bold sailor shapes his course
Along the pathless sea,
Th' unerring needle his resource
To guide his weary way;
Though rudely turn'd, as billows rise,
And fierce in fury roll,
Still to the north it faithful hies,
Still trembles to the pole.
Whate'er I do, where'er I rove,
So turn my thoughts to thee, my love!

